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NOTES AND NEWS

MANCHESTER, which claims to be the birthplace of free libraries, has the distinction of being the first town to set up a municipal reference and lending library under the Public Libraries Act of 1850. This year the Manchester Public Library celebrates its centenary. We take this opportunity of offering our congratulations and our best wishes for its future. Inaugurated on 2 September 1852 and opened to the public four days later, the Manchester Public Library has a record of development during the past century of which all associated with it may justly be proud. Beginning with some 20,000 volumes on its shelves, it has in that period increased them fifty-fold. But more important than numbers of books is the place it has come to occupy in the cultural life of the city and the leading position it holds amongst public libraries. An indication both of the wide range of its present activities and of the circumstances attending its inception is given in the following account, which has been kindly contributed, at our invitation, by the City Librarian, Mr. Charles Nowell, who has himself played no small part in these achievements.

THE CENTENARY OF THE MANCHESTER PUBLIC LIBRARY.

'It was on 14 August 1850 that the first Public Libraries Act received the Royal Assent. By it towns with a population of 10,000 or over were permitted, should they so desire, to have a public library and, to a maximum of one halfpenny in the pound, a local rate could be levied.

'There were three men primarily responsible for this: William Ewart, M.P. for Dumfries, a Liverpool man; Joseph Brotherton, M.P. for Salford, a Manchester business man; and Edward Edwards, who became Manchester's first librarian.

'Immediately the Act was passed, the Mayor of Manchester, John Potter (afterwards knighted by Queen Victoria when she visited the town in October 1851), began his advocacy for a public library here in Manchester. From the first his enthusiasm was infectious. So certain was he of ultimate success that in April 1850 he purchased the Hall of Science at Campfield with monies received by him from his friends and business acquaintances, and Sir Oswald Mosley, in appreciation of the object of the appeal, sold the freehold of the site, valued at £1,826, for half that amount.

'Before the first appeal was made to the public (at a meeting on 8 January 1851) Potter had collected £4,300. In February 1851 a "Working Men's Committee" began to canvass the various works. They met every Tuesday for 82 weeks, planning a systematic coverage of the town. 882 subscription sheets were issued and ultimately the "working men's" effort resulted in raising £813 18s. 0d. from about 22,000 individual contributors. Altogether, Potter's fund amounted to about £13,000.

'In July 1852 a poll of the burgesses was agreed to by the Town Council. Confident though he was of the outcome of this appeal to the voice of the people, Potter left nothing to chance. The Committee's appeal was printed and a copy sent with each voting paper to every burgess. At that time the registered burgesses of Manchester numbered 12,542. Of this number 4,002 went to the poll: 3,962 in favour of the public library and only 40 against.

'At the inaugural meeting on the morning of 2 September 1852, with Sir John Potter in the chair, the principal speakers included Bulwer Lytton, John Bright, Thackeray, Dickens, the Earls of Shaftesbury and Wilton, and other well known local and national figures. Dickens was in fine form, but Thackeray petered out after a few minutes. He was so anxious to make amends, apparently, that he asked to be allowed to speak at the evening meeting, but once more he failed. Lytton crystallized the thoughts of these early advocates of the public library when he said:

> "Education does not cease when we leave school. Education rightly considered is the work of a life, and libraries are the schoolrooms of grown-up men . . . I do feel a most anxious, and I may say a solemn interest in the uses which

may be made of this mighty arsenal. I call it an arsenal, for books are weapons, whether for war or self-defence; and perhaps the principles of chivalry are as applicable to the student now as they were to the knights of old to defend the weak, to resist the oppressor, to unite humility with courage, give to man the service, and to heaven the glory."

'Four days later, on 6 September 1852, the Library was opened to the public. During the first year 61,080 volumes were issued to readers in the Reference Library, and 77,232 volumes from the Lending Library, a combined circulation of 138,312 volumes. To appreciate the significance of these figures let me give some details of the 1851 census of Manchester. The total population of Manchester as recorded in the official census of 1851 amounted to 308,382 persons. Of these, 69,500 were children between the ages of three and fourteen. Of these 32,400 were stated to be at school, 7,000 at work. 30,100 children between these ages, therefore, were neither at school nor at work. Less than one-half of the children were receiving education through the school, and of course the adult population of 1851 would have had fewer opportunities still for school training in their childhood.

'During the winter of 1852, by way of popularizing the use of the Library, free public lectures were arranged on such subjects as, The Use and Study of History, The Literature of Society and Fiction, Coal and its Applications. The lectures were crowded and their effect was noticed in the subsequent demand for books on the subjects dealt with.

'From that Hall of Science at Campfield the Library was hurriedly moved in 1877 (the weight of books made the building unsafe) to the old Town Hall in King Street. In 1912 that building was sold and the Library moved once more to a temporary home in the "Piccadilly Huts", until such time as the City Council could decide upon the site for a permanent library building, specially designed for the purpose. The money received from the sale of the King Street building (and the accrued interest) paid for the present Central Library in St. Peter's Square, which was officially opened by H.M. King George V in July 1934.

'Today the Manchester Public Library Service covers the

whole city. In addition to the " Central Library " with its Administration sections, Reference and Home Reading Libraries, Exhibition Hall, Theatre, etc., there are thirty-four branch and district libraries, two travelling libraries which stand each week at eleven different stations in the new housing estates, forty libraries in hospitals and the residential homes for old people, and libraries in the Prison at Strangeways. From a total stock of more than one million volumes, there is a recorded issue of about six million volumes each year, for a total expenditure (last year) of just over £230,000, of which 90 per cent. was from the General Rate of the City.

'Books are lent not only to readers residing in the city and the surrounding area, but to readers using other libraries not only in the British Isles, but throughout the world, through the Inter-lending Scheme, which is the outstanding feature of library development in recent years. Last year, for example, 1,754 volumes were issued to readers elsewhere, including readers at libraries in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Holland, and other European countries and as far away as Singapore.

'In September this year the Manchester Public Library will celebrate, in a modest way, its centenary, and remember especially the name of Sir John Potter, the acknowledged founder of the Manchester Public Libraries, and Edward Edwards, the first Librarian, whose pioneer work is known throughout the library world.'

THE MILLENARY OF THE PATRIARCHAL LIBRARY AT ALEXANDRIA.

The famous library of the Greek Orthodox Church of Alexandria, the home for centuries of the Codex Alexandrinus, celebrates its millenary this year. Dr. Theodore D. Mosconas, the Librarian, who bears the ancient Ptolemaic title 'Hypomnematographos of the Church of Alexandria', bestowed upon him on the completion of the three-volume Catalogue (1945-47), has been kind enough to supply us with the account of the Library which follows. It is of interest to recall that Dr. Mosconas studied for a time in Manchester and regularly used the collections in The John Rylands Library.

'A circular was sent in January 1952 to all leading Libraries outside Egypt to announce that in November of this year the Greek Orthodox Church of Alexandria would celebrate the first Millenary of its venerable Library. Alexandria has been, since the days of the Ptolemies, the city in which Libraries have flourished. This "Patriarchal Library", as the modern Library of the Church of Alexandria is styled, has had a brilliant history and contains some of the great works and rare editions identified with Egyptian and world history. The Patriarchs Athanasius and Cyril studied there, and other Patriarchs, like Cyril Loukaris and Metrophanes Kritopulos, collected during their world travels some of the most famous works of the Renaissance period, which they bequeathed to the Library. Cyril Loukaris is perhaps best known in England as having presented King Charles I with the copy of the famous Codex Alexandrinus now preserved in the British Museum. This Codex previously belonged to the Patriarchal Library of Alexandria. Incidentally, Metrophanes Kritopulos, sometime Librarian and later Patriarch of Alexandria, studied at Oxford.

'After the Arabic Conquest of Egypt (A.D. 640), the Library followed the fortunes of the Greek Byzantine Church. When Cairo was founded—its first Millenary will be celebrated in A.D. 1955—the Library followed the Patriarchs to the new capital. One of the most learned men of his time, Eutychius, Patriarch of Alexandria (better known as Said Ebn Batriq), who wrote the Chronicle of the Church of Alexandria in Arabic, acknowledged that he owed much to the "very many books of the Library". The Byzantine Greeks in Cairo were mostly merchants and had their dwellings first at the Haret El Roum (the Roman quarter of Cairo) and later on in the Hamzauoi quarter where the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate still is. The Greek Patriarchs continued in Cairo up to the dawn of the twentieth century, and with them the Library. In 1928 Patriarch Meletios II transferred it to its old home, Alexandria, and for twenty more years it was situated in the old Patriarchal Residence there, until, in 1948, Patriarch Christopher II had a new spacious building erected for it at Ibrahimieh in the suburbs.

'The Patriarchal Library is perhaps best known for its valuable manuscripts and its rare editions. The latter, which date from A.D. 1477, include products of the printing presses of London, Oxford, and Eton in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Other places of printing represented are Basel, Venice, Paris, Lyons, Frankfurt, and Leyden.

'Since 1948 ten exhibitions of manuscripts, rare editions, Imperial edicts, etc., have been held in the Patriarchal Library, and for the period of the present celebrations an exhibition dealing with the Greek Book in Egypt (1901-52) has been arranged. Lectures have also been given in the Aula of the Library. Because of the uniqueness of the occasion, the Organizing Committee of the Millenary has invited Libraries from all over the world to submit articles on historical subjects to be published in a Commemoration "Tomos" after the Millenary is over. Medals will be given and hospitality is extended to all Librarians wishing to attend the four days of the Celebrations, namely, 16, 17, 18 and 19 November.'

THE COLLEGIO ALBERONI, PIACENZA.

The Collegio Alberoni, Piacenza, this year commemorates the death of its founder Cardinal Giulio Alberoni. Born in Piacenza of humble parents—his father a gardener, his mother a seamstress—Alberoni raised himself by his outstanding abilities to great heights. Going to Spain in the train of the Duc de Vendôme, he was soon a power in the land. In 1715 he became Prime Minister and two years later was made a Cardinal. A turn of the political wheel led to his banishment from Spain and in 1719 he took refuge in Italy amongst the Apennines, living in concealment because of the enmity of Pope Clement XI. Clement XII, however, appointed him administrator of the Ospedale di San Lazzaro, an ancient foundation dating from 1089 and intended for the benefit of lepers. As the original reason for the Hospital no longer existed, the Cardinal obtained permission for its suppression and had it replaced by a College, which was opened in 1751. In 1755 its library contained 4,150 volumes, to which, ten years after the opening, was added the library of Cardinal Alberoni, with which is combined that of Cardinal

Giacomo Lanfradini (d. 1741). From time to time during the course of the years it has been enriched by valuable bequests and in 1864 received the library of Count Alberto Bracciforti. Today its contents number over 100,000 volumes. The College is to be congratulated on its fine record and not least on its distinguished periodical 'Divus Thomas', an international review of philosophy and theology from the Thomist viewpoint, which dates back to 1880.

A MEDIEVAL LIBRARY: THE ABBEY OF HIMMEROD.

To trace the whereabouts of the surviving contents of a medieval monastic library which evil fortune has scattered far and wide is no easy task. Father Ambrosius Schneider of the Cistercian Abbey of Himmerod has recently undertaken it for his own house and the chase has led him to such places as Trier, Coblenz, Bonn, Vienna, Paris, Chantilly, Amiens, Brussels, Leyden, London, and Baltimore. In Manchester, in the John Rylands Library, he has located two of the Himmerod codices. The considerable number of manuscripts of the Abbey which had found a home in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin prior to the last war are now mostly in Marburg and Tübingen. In an important article printed below Father Schneider offers the result of his researches to scholars.

Himmerod, a daughter house of Clairvaux, is situated in the Rhineland in the diocese of Trier and its foundation dates back to the middle of the twelfth century. As with many monastic libraries its volumes were originally stored in niches in the walls of the windowless *armarium* and were in the keeping of the cantor before the appointment of a special librarian (*armarius*) was thought of. The *armarius* combined with his library duties those of archivist and head of the scriptorium, in which he supervised the copying of manuscripts lent by other houses and especially by the parent Abbey. Very little is known of the copyists themselves. Of the 137 Himmerod codices treated by Father Schneider information on this point is given in twenty-one cases only.

The Himmerod library reached its highest point in the second

half of the fifteenth century when some thirty manuscripts had their origin there. It suffered its greatest losses in the sixteenth century, when, in addition to other ravages, a large number of volumes were lent to the Emperor Ferdinand I of Austria for the Council of Trent and apparently never returned. It is a matter both of wonder and congratulation that so many codices have survived the hazards of the wars which have swept the area. Repeated removals to places of safety seldom left the library unscathed. Father Schneider draws attention to an interesting point concerning certain of the bindings. The normal Himmerod binding is without adornment, since the General Chapter of the Order expressly forbade such. The fact that one of the Rylands MSS. is furnished with a jewelled binding is apparently due to the London art dealer Thomas Boone, who attached it in the middle of the nineteenth century to enhance the commercial value of the manuscript; the binding, of course, does not date from that century. A similar treatment was accorded to Himmerod MSS. now at Chantilly (by Boone) and Baltimore (by the French art dealer Leon Gruel).

The ban on illumination which the General Chapter, in its zeal for simplicity and austerity, also imposed, appears to have been operative at Himmerod only for a short period in the middle of the twelfth century. Thereafter illuminated initials are found in the work of the Himmerod scriptorium, although a simplicity of design was affected in such work. The colours most favoured are red, green, and blue.

The last and perhaps greatest dispersal of the library came with the incursion into the area of the French Revolutionary armies. Many of the codices and incunabula found their way to Trier, to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and to the Preussische Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, while others were scattered elsewhere through middlemen who did their best to erase the Himmerod identification marks.

Such an interesting and successful investigation as that conducted by Father Schneider merits imitation and it is to be hoped that scholars of other houses will do for their libraries what he has done for his.

THE MAINZ PSALTER OF 1457.

Among the 'Enemies of Books' William Blades includes ignorance and the bookbinder. He refers to the widespread destruction of vellum manuscripts after the introduction of printing, and instances the frequent use of strips of vellum by binders for strengthening purposes. He makes no mention, however, of the many vellum leaves used in the bindery for covering documents. An exhibit at present displayed in the National Library of Scotland again draws attention to this practice. It consists of certain leaves, presented with family papers by the Rt. Hon. Lord Sinclair, originally part of a thirteenth century Missal belonging to the Abbey of Jedburgh, which had been used for this purpose. Many years ago Dr. Collijn, in the 'Katalog der Inkunabeln der Kgl. Bibliothek in Stockholm', Teil I, 1914, recorded a similar example of spoliation [1]—in this case of that great monument of early printing, the 'Psalterium', printed at Mainz in 1457 by Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer. His entry, No. 907, is annotated: 'Archivalienumschläge aus dem *Archiv des Kammarkollegium* und aus dem *Reichsarchiv* zu Stockholm. 42 Bl. auf Perg. zum grössten Teil def. und beschädigt. Unter diesen Blättern befundet sich auch das letzte mit den Colophon'. These leaves were included by Seymour de Ricci in the census of copies of the Mainz Psalter in 'Catalogue raisonné des premières impressions de Mayence', 1911, where, under No. 41, he states 'La Bibliothèque royale de Stockholm en possède des fragments considérables'. Under No. 42 he writes 'La Bibliothèque de l'Université de Helsingfors possède une vingtaine de feuillets provenant du même exemplaire que ceux de Stockholm'. It will be noticed that in neither case is any attempt made to identify the leaves. When, formerly, a member of the staff of the University Library of Helsinki, Mr. Karl-Erik Henriksson, M.A.,

[1] The practice appears to have been common in Sweden. In an interesting article to which Mr. Henriksson has directed our attention, 'Canon law in manuscripts from medieval Sweden' (*Traditio*, VII, 1949–51, pp. 444–449), Dr. Toni Schmid states that 'there are about 60,000 covers extant today, most of them still serving to protect the accounts bound in them'. The work of cataloguing these covers was begun about eighteen years ago, and when it is completed 'it may', says Dr. Schmid, 'mean the rebuilding of the biggest medieval library in Sweden'.

now Librarian of the School of Social Science in Helsinki, became interested in these groups of leaves. With the aid of a microfilm reproduction of the Rylands copy of the 1457 Psalter he has made a careful examination of the Helsinki fragments, and of the fragments at Stockholm of which also he secured microfilms. He has kindly sent us the following notes on his investigations.

In the University Library at Helsinki Mr. Henriksson has identified twenty-one leaves, and in the Royal Library in Stockholm thirty-nine leaves, and has added two further groups to those known to de Ricci. In the *Kammararkiv* is a group of fourteen leaves, which he has identified, while in the *Riksarkiv* is a further small group which is unfortunately not at present available for research. Two of the leaves referred to by Dr. Collijn do not, it appears, belong to the edition of 143 leaves, and the suggestion is made that, if they belong to the 1457 Psalter, they must be part of the variant edition with 175 leaves. The leaves which have been identified are shown in the following table. The first column shows the quire according to the collation of de Ricci :

Quire	*Royal Library, Stockholm*	*University Library, Helsinki*	*Kammararkiv, Stockholm*
2 (10)	1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10	3, 8	
4 (10)	5, 6		
5 (10)	1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10	2	
6 (10)	2, 5 (2 copies), 6 (2 copies), 7, 8, 9	4, 7	3, 4
7 (10)	2		6
8 (10)	5, 6	1, 10	5, 6
9 (10)		1, 2, 4, 7, 9, 10	
10 (10)	3, 8		5, 6
11 (8)	2, 4, 5		
12 (6)	3, 4		
13 (10)	2		
14 (10)	5, 6	2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9	1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10
15 (8 + 1)	1, 9 (colophon)	2, 8	

In Helsinki University Library only sig. 5^2 is a single leaf, the remainder being pairs of conjugate leaves. It will be seen from the table that, in the other two collections, the majority of the leaves are conjugate, but whether they have been separated is

not clear. The three collections contain in all sixty-three distinct leaves, of eleven of which duplicates are found in one or other of the collections. In one case, sig. 6^{5-6}, both copies of the leaves are preserved in the Royal Library. 'It appears', writes Mr. Henriksson, 'that two copies of this precious book were used by bookbinders to make covers for the Swedish government chancery records at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century. The leaves in the Chamber (*Kammararkivet*) and State Archives (*Riksarkivet*) in Stockholm still serve their secondary purpose.' Unhappily this secondary purpose has resulted in the mutilation of many of the leaves, as they were cut down to the size of the documents they covered. In many cases part of the text is wanting. Regarding the provenance of the leaves in Helsinki he states, 'The documents were preserved in the Central Government archives in Sweden. In the nineteenth century such documents which concerned Finland were given to Finland and about one hundred years ago the covers were taken from the document volumes and given over to the University Library in Helsinki. Since the 1860s it has been known that among the fragments are leaves from the Mainz Psalter.' Mr. Henriksson is to be congratulated on proving that the leaves belong to two distinct copies of the Psalter. It is to be hoped that he may be able to complete his work by the identification of the two remaining leaves in the Royal Library and by the examination of the fragments in the *Riksarkiv*.

Among recent accessions to the Manuscript Department are:

MANUSCRIPT ACCESSIONS.

Christopher Feake. A volume (221 fos.) containing sermons preached by the Fifth-Monarchy man Christopher Feake (Vicar of All Saints, Hertford, and Christ Church, Newgate) in and near the City of London between September 1672 and February 1674. Feake's dates are normally given as 'floruit 1645-1660' and according to the *D.N.B.* 'he disappears from view' in 1660.

The Preston Pearce Collection: A collection of miscellaneous French documents dating from the century before the Revolution, formed to illustrate the history of revenue stamps (introduced by Colbert in 1673) and including records of all types

relating to Paris and the Provinces, to Corsica and to Savoy. Seventeenth-eighteenth century. 4,400 items. Presented by Mr. A. Preston Pearce.

The Bagshawe Muniments: The main additions consist of deeds, papers, and other records respecting the Bagshawes of Ford Hall, the Bagshawes of the Oakes and Wormhill, the Bagshawes of Hucklow Hall, and the Bagshawes of the Ridge, all in co. Derby. 1,600 items. Sixteenth-nineteenth century. Included are correspondence with the Cavendish family (37 items, eighteenth-nineteenth century); 98 diaries and account books (1794-1847) of the Rev. William Bagshawe, his wife Anne, and George Bustard Greaves; and deeds and papers concerning Lord John Murray (d. 1787), Lt.-General William Murray of Banner Cross, co. York (d. 1818), the families of Bright and Gisborne, the Rectory of Castleton, co. Derby, and the parish of Chapel-en-le-Frith, co. Derby.

The Bromley Davenport Muniments: The main groups of additions are: letters and papers respecting the chapel at Capesthorne, eighteenth-nineteenth century; miscellaneous correspondence and papers of John Ward (d. 1748), Davies Davenport II (d. 1758), Edward Davies Davenport (d. 1847), Rev. Walter Bromley, later Davenport Bromley (d. 1862), and William Bromley Davenport (d. 1884) and Augusta his wife; the Crimean Diary of William Davenport Bromley, 1854-55; and six manuscript volumes (eighteenth-nineteenth century), including one concerning the estates of the Fittons of Gawsworth (seventeenth-eighteenth century), an account book (1810-18) of Davies Davenport III, and two codices containing family pedigrees.

The Raymond Richards Collection: The main groups of additions are: eleven former Phillipps documents, mainly charters (including a confirmation by Robert, Bishop of Hereford (d. 1186) to the Abbot and Convent of Haghem), twelfth-seventeenth century; a manuscript volume containing extracts of orders for the campaigns of 1745-47 issued by the Duke of Cumberland; papers in a case between the Bishop of Durham and the Clavering family, eighteenth century (28); correspondence exchanged between Admiral Sir William Cornwallis, Captain John Whitby and Mrs. Whitby, 1794-1847 (91); 17

rolls of royal accounts, namely, 5 (1696-1712) of household accounts of wines and spices, 5 (1721-27) of Charles Stanhope, Treasurer of the Chamber, and 7 (1748-1819) of declared accounts of the Audit and Pipe Offices ; and deeds and papers relating to the Broughton and Waring families and cos. Salop and Stafford, sixteenth-seventeenth century (42), the Brand family of Polstead Hall, co. Suffolk, and lands mainly in cos. Suffolk and Gloucester, fourteenth-eighteenth century (170), the Earls of Abergavenny and lands mainly in co. Warwick, seventeenth-eighteenth century (51), the de la Fountaine family of Kirby Bellars, co. Leicester, seventeenth-eighteenth century (one bound volume, formerly Phillipps MS. 9982), and the Wainwright and Whitehouse families and lands in Sedgeley, co. Stafford, sixteenth-nineteenth century (68).

The Dale Muniments : The records and papers of Messrs. William Dale and Sons, agricultural engineers, of Sandle Bridge, Alderley Edge, Cheshire, relating mainly to Alderley, Marthall-cum-Warford, Ollerton, Great Warford, and Over Peover in that county. The Dale family has been established for over 200 years in this locality as blacksmiths, farriers, wheelwrights, water- and wind-millwrights, stonemasons and carpenters, and has also played a prominent part in local affairs. Eighteenth-twentieth century. Thirty-four folio ledgers, 77 other volumes and 350 documents and papers. Deposited by Mr. Alan Dale.

The Appleton Deeds : A collection of deeds relating to the Appleton family of Smedley, co. Lancaster, paper manufacturers, and to Manchester, Chetham, Collyhurst, and Smedley. Mostly concerning paper mills in that area. Thirty items. Early nineteenth century. Bequeathed by the late Mr. J. H. Appleton.

PRINTED BOOKS: ACQUISITIONS BY PURCHASE.

Efforts to overtake war-arrears in foreign continuations have continued. Our sets of a number of Italian historical journals, including 'Archivio storico italiano', 'Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane', 'Archivio storico sardo' and 'Archivio storico lombardo' have been brought up to date, and we have been able to obtain all the war-time and subsequent

volumes of 'Monumenti antichi'. Several German serials have been completed, or rendered nearly complete during the period. We have, for instance, procured all the issues since 1939 of 'Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin', and most of the missing volumes of the 'Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung' and the 'Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts'. Included among sets published in France which it has been possible to complete are, 'Travaux et mémoires de l'École française d'Athènes', 'La Bibliothèque thomiste', 'The International Bibliography of Historical Sciences', the publications of the 'Société des Textes français modernes', and the 'Bulletin du Comité des travaux historiques'. We have also been able to acquire a set of 'Berytus' which only lacks the first volume, and to complete our set of the 'Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History Society' by the purchase of the last twenty-four volumes.

One item which has been added to our Manchester collection is perhaps worthy of separate mention. It is a copy of the first edition of 'The Newsman's Interpreter, or, a description of several Spanish Territories in America; particularly of those places against which it is supposed, the English have a design . . . Manchester Printed and Sold by J. Berry. Price Four Pence. 1741.' This small volume of sixty-seven pages is, unfortunately, imperfect; it lacks a leaf of text and one of the three plans. The plans which are present depict Havana and Porto Bello, that of Carthagena being wanting. A second edition is recorded by Sabin (no. 55068) but we have been unable to trace a copy of this, the first, edition. The book was issued to satisfy the popular desire for information on the Spanish possessions during a time of war with that country, and is prefaced by a brief account 'Of the Royal Navy of England'. At the end are seven pages of advertisements, the last page being largely devoted to an announcement of the book itself: 'This Day is Published, Price fourpence, being the Cheapest Book ever yet published. The Newsman's Interpreter', and of 'All Sorts of Sheet and Book Almanacks, for the year 1741'. John Berry, the printer, was a well-known bookseller and also the

printer of the ' Lancashire journal ', but his business interests went far beyond this. Five pages of advertisements set out in great detail the many-sided activities which he carried on in his ' Shop at the Dial near the Cross in Manchester '. There he combined the businesses of book-seller, printer, publisher, chemist, both wholesale and retail, grocer, ironmonger, jeweller, and dealer in fancy goods of all kinds. At the foot of the last page he adds, almost as an afterthought, ' *,* He buys old Gold and Silver, or Silver Lace, or Exchanges for any of the above mentioned goods '. His versatility was not confined to his business, for, in the Court Leet Records between the years 1733 and 1754 he is described as bylawman for scavengers, market-looker and officer for muzzling mastiff dogs. In addition his services were in demand as an auctioneer, in which duties he acquired a considerable reputation.

Recent additions of interest in the archæological section are the four volumes of ' Publications of the Committee for the Excavation of Antioch-on-the-Orontes ' and J. Simon, ' Jerusalem in the Old Testament ', Vol. I of the series ' Studia memoriae Francisci Scholten dicata '. Books on art include Dr. K. Weitzmann's ' The fresco cycle of S. Maria di Castelseprio ' and ' Greek mythology in Byzantine art ', and Dr. Gisela Richter's ' Archaic Greek art ', and, on architecture, M. Aufray, ' L'architecture religieuse du Nivernais : les églises romanes ', and the first volume of K. A. C. Cresswell's study of ' Muslim architecture in Egypt '. Another important addition is C. Beccari, ' Rerum Aethiopicarum scriptores '. The sections to which the most numerous additions have been made are bibliography and the study of manuscripts. Three valuable catalogues of Oriental manuscripts have been acquired : the five volumes dealing with the Persian, Turkish, Syriac and Armenian manuscripts of the Koenigliche Bibliothek, Berlin, the two volumes on Persian and Turkish manuscripts in the Herzogliche Bibliothek, Gotha, and the volume on Arabic and other manuscripts in the Kaiserlich-Koenigliche Orientalische Akademie, Vienna. Additions to our collection of facsimiles of manuscripts are, 'Byskupa Sǫgur ', Vol. 19 of the ' Corpus Codicum Islandicorum ', the ' Gesta Hamburgensis ecclesiae pontificum ' of Adamus Bremensis,

and 'The Thorkelin manuscripts of Beowulf', the first volume of a new series, 'Early English Manuscripts in facsimile', which is appearing in Copenhagen. The third and final volume of Donald Wing's 'Short-title catalogue of books printed in England . . . 1641-1700' has also been acquired; other works include Dahl, 'Dutch corantos', a fine series of facsimiles, two of the state bibliographies issued under the auspices of the Bibliographical Society of America, 'Arkansas imprints' and 'Dakota imprints', both by A. H. Allen, and Ter Meulen and Diermanse, 'Bibliographie des écrits de Grotius'. Also of value in their respective fields are J. B. Oldham, 'English blind-stamped bindings', and 'The Briquet album', a volume of studies on watermarks, which forms Vol. 2 of the series 'Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae'. Among works on the history of printing are A. Mayer, 'Wiens Buchdruckergeschichte', 1883-87, 2 vols. 4to., I. Collijn, 'Svenska typografiska Atlas', and F. Vindel, 'El arte tipografico en España', a work in nine volumes which has revolutionized the study of early Spanish printing.

GIFTS TO THE LIBRARY.

Substantial gifts of publications of their respective University Presses have been received from the libraries of the Universities of Edinburgh and Manchester and the University College of South Wales, Cardiff. Libraries and other institutions on the continent of Europe who have sent gifts include the Aegyptische Abteilung of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin, the Institutum Papyrologicum of the University of Copenhagen, the Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek, Hamburg, the National Library, Madrid, the University Library, Uppsala, the Vatican Library and the Zentralbibliothek, Zürich. Amongst other generous donors are Boston Public Library, California University Library, the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo, and Queen's University Library, Kingston, Ontario.

During the last few months about forty additions have been made to our exchange list, the publications received being in most cases learned journals, many of which are not available elsewhere in the North of England. Rather more than half of the new exchanges are with bodies in France, Germany, Italy and the

United States, but new contacts have been made in fourteen other countries, including the Argentine, Burma, Ceylon, French West Africa, Jordan, Lebanon and Portugal. From the following institutions the Library has received complete or nearly complete sets of their journals: the Ateneo Pontificio Antoniano in Rome, the Société d'Archéologie Copte, and the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. We are also grateful to the Universities of Basel, Copenhagen, Louvain, Michigan, New York and Uppsala and to the Academia das Ciencias de Lisbôa for their generous gifts.

In January the Societas Orientalis Fennica presented a complete set of their 'Studia Orientalia'. The first volume, a Festschrift in honour of Professor Knut Tallqvist, appeared in 1925, and the series has now reached its sixteenth volume. Most of the studies of which it is composed are in German, English, or French. The Academia Scientiarum Fennica has presented three series of its publications: 'Annales, Series B. Humaniora', 'Sitzungsberichte' and 'FF. Communications', the journal of the folk-lore branch. Of the first-named the first forty-five volumes have already reached the Library. It consists of over 200 monographs of varying size and is the medium through which much of the best work of Finnish scholarship reaches a wider public, for most of the contributions are in German, French or English. As a general rule the volumes contain a number of short treatises on widely differing subjects of humanistic interest. Several, however, are more restricted in subject matter. Vols. 2, 5 and 6, for instance, form a collection of studies in sixteenth and seventeenth century history under the general title 'Études romaines'; vol. 27 is a Festschrift dedicated to Professor Mikkola and contains a group of articles on Slav philology, and vol. 30 a collection of 'Germanistisch-romanische Studien' presented to Professor Hugo Suolahti. Among the more considerable monographs in the collection are: V. Kiparsky, 'Die Kurenfrage'; K. Donner, 'Verzeichnis der etymologisch behandelten finnischen Wörter'; and works by Arthur Långfors such as 'Miracles de Gautier de Coincy. Extraits du manuscrit de l'Ermitage'.

Among gifts from individual donors is a volume from Mr. J. T. Smith containing a Bible of 1611-12 (STC. 2214), with

which is bound a Prayer Book (probably STC. 16337), a Sternhold and Hopkins version of the Psalms (probably STC. 2537) and an edition of the 'Two Concordances' of 1611, which does not appear to be recorded. Mr. A. P. Wadsworth has presented the fine reproduction of Thornton's 'Temple of Flora' and the Library has received from Sir Thomas D. Barlow and Dr. G. L. Keynes the two last volumes presented to the Roxburghe Club. A number of scholars have made donations of their own works; such are the gifts of Dr. Walter Till, Sir Richmond Palmer and Mr. E. W. Dickes. Miss Marjorie Jones, of Llandudno, has presented a small collection of books which include a number of items of local interest, and, in addition, the Perth edition (1795) of the 'British Plutarch', by Thomas Mortimer, and a copy of the 'History of the Old and New Testament' of the Sieur de Royaumont, with a Wentworth ownership inscription on the title-page and the Wentworth crest on the binding.

Mr. Richard Hawkin has presented three further groups of books and pamphlets. The first gift includes a small but important collection of Brontëana, containing several books on Haworth and its neighbourhood which are far from common, a group of books on Wat Tyler, among them Cleveland's 'Idol of the Clownes', 1654, and a copy of the piratical edition of Southey's early drama 'Wat Tyler', 1817. It was to suppress this edition that Southey, whose views had changed considerably since he first contemplated publication in 1794, fought an unsuccessful Chancery action. Several additions have also been made to Mr. Hawkin's earlier donation of Yorkshire guide books, particularly as regards Scarborough and its neighbourhood. His gifts include a number of interesting Sheffield items, two being works of the radical minister George Beaumont, whose 'Warrior's looking glass', 1808, an anthology of extracts condemning war, was one of the early expressions of modern pacifism. A rare Quaker item, Niclas's 'Figure of the true and spiritual tabernacle', 1655, has been in the Library for many years but in a defective state; Mr. Hawkin's most recent gift has replaced the fragment with a perfect copy. As usual pamphlets form an important part of the gift and included are a rare Whitby item, 'Tom Keld's Hole', 'The experience and sufferings of William

Dodd', a crippled factory worker, two scurrilous attacks on Edward Carpenter by M. D. O'Brien, and the first appearance of 'The Red Flag'. An interesting addition, also, is the edition of 'Passages from the life of a radical', by the agitator Samuel Bamford, which he published himself, in Heywood, in 1841-43.

During the first half of 1952 the following donors have made valuable gifts to the Library, and to them the Governors offer their grateful thanks :

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In addition to these donations many learned societies and other bodies have continued to present copies of their periodical publications.

THE LETTERS OF POPE INNOCENT III[1]

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THE pope with whose letters this paper is concerned came to the pontificate in 1198 at the comparatively early age of thirty-seven or thirty-eight, and in the space of eighteen years (for he died in 1216) established a reputation throughout Latin Christendom which was surpassed by that of no other pope of the Middle Ages. He adjudicated between claimants to the Empire, made and unmade kings, and assumed the position of overlord and guardian in several states, including England. To an unprecedented extent the papal court became the chief court of appeal for the entire Church, and Innocent emphasized the Church's unity under his government by convening a General Council. For these reasons and others Innocent III is notable, and historians of each later age, whether attracted or repelled by his character and aims, have paid tribute to his greatness. They have indeed had little excuse for overlooking him, since the surviving records of his pontificate are very rich. His own letters are the most valuable source of all and the following remarks are concerned with the nature of the evidence which they provide.

To speak on this subject rather than on a specific part of it must seem to any informed person an audacious undertaking. For there are over 5,000 collected letters of the pope,[2] and many hundreds not collected. What can be said briefly about such a field for detailed study? Something may be said about the letters as a whole, to aid the interpretation of them in detail.

[1] A lecture delivered in The John Rylands Library, on Wednesday, the 9th of January 1952, with some modifications and additions.

[2] I.e., calendared in the *Regesta pontificum romanorum a.d. 1198-1304* of August Potthast (Berlin, 1874-75). Those letters which survive in the papal registers (over 3,600 of them) are printed *in extenso*, with some others, in Migne's *Patrologia latina*, vols. ccxiv-ccxvii (hereafter referred to as Migne).

They are constantly used by historians and not infrequently misunderstood. Viewed as a whole they raise certain questions about their transmission, their authorship, their accuracy, and so forth ; if we can approximately answer these questions we can assess the historical value of any single letter or group of letters more confidently.

No short account can describe the scope of these letters, which embrace all topics, ecclesiastical and political, moral and legal, with which the pope was concerned ; they are addressed to almost all parts of Europe and the Mediterranean world ; but a few examples will illustrate the extraordinary variety. Here is a handful of letters chosen at random.

The first [1] is written to ' the illustrious Miramolinus king of Morocco and his subjects, praying that they may attain knowledge of the truth and abide therein to their advantage '. This letter is to recommend the Trinitarian brethren who worked for the ransom and exchange of Christian captives among the Moors. Then there is a letter [2] to the archbishop of Vienne, the bishop of Geneva, and the abbot of Chassagne, ordering them to hold a judicial enquiry into the alleged enormities of the archbishop of Lyon. A third letter [3] is important for its light on the nascent university of Paris : it is addressed to ' the doctors of Holy Writ, of Decrees, and of the Liberal Arts, dwelling at Paris ', and confirms a statute made by the *universitas magistrorum*.

To turn to another topic : not only did Innocent III claim sole authority to declare the canonization of saints ; he also was called upon to pronounce on the authenticity of relics. Here, in full, is a letter which initiates proceedings in an affair of this sort : [4]

[1] Migne, ccxiv. 544. [2] *Ibid.* ccxv. 1299. [3] *Ibid.* ccxv. 1585.

[4] *Ibid.* ccxvi. 549. The protocol, or opening clause, does not appear in the register in full ; likewise the endings of this and the next letter to be quoted are abridged in the register ; they have been completed here according to common form.

Cf. Geoffrey de Courlon, *Le Livre des reliques de l'abbaye de S. Pierre-le-Vif de Sens*, ed. G. Julliot and M. Prou (Sens, 1887), for Archbishop Hugh's authentic record (1160) and his grant of some relics of St. Loup to S. Loup-de-Naud (pp. 288-90), and an agreement between the two abbeys, after litigation, for sharing the profits of a preaching tour, in 1432 (pp. 249 sqq.).

Innocent, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved sons the abbot and prior of St. Victor and Master G. Cornutus, canon of Paris, greeting and the apostolic blessing.

Our beloved sons the abbot and convent of Ste. Colombe of Sens in their complaint to us have represented that the entire body of S. Loup the confessor, archbishop of Sens, rests in their church together with his head, as appears clearly from the authentic record of Hugh, of happy memory, archbishop of Sens, who summoned certain bishops and assembled the clergy and people and exhibited to them all the body and the head. Nevertheless, they complain, the abbot and monks of S. Pierre-le-Vif of Sens, to the damage of the abbey of Ste. Colombe, cause their preachers to declare far and wide in the diocese that the head and certain limbs of the confessor are in a priory of theirs, S. Loup de Naud; and they complain that this is quite contrary to the truth. Since deceit should not be tolerated under the veil of piety, we order you by this apostolic letter on our authority carefully to admonish and effectively to induce the abbot and monks of S. Pierre to desist from this audacity, compelling them if need be, when you have enquired into the truth of the matter, by ecclesiastical censure without right of appeal. For it ill accords with either their salvation or their reputation that they should obtain alms by the preaching of lies. No letter is to prejudice truth and justice, should there be produced any such letter obtained from the Apostolic See. If all of you cannot attend to the execution of this, let two of you execute it notwithstanding. Dated at the Lateran, the 14th of March, in the fifteenth year of our pontificate.

Here the pope was acting as supreme judge. The next example [1] likewise illustrates his judicial omnipotence, but this time in the *forum internum*, where he assigns penance to the penitent:

To the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors to whom this letter shall come. The bearer of this letter, Robert by name, came to the compassionate Apostolic See and tearfully confessed his sin, a great sin indeed and a grave one. For when he had been captured with his wife and daughter by the Saracens, their chief, whom they call the Admiral, issued an order that, since a famine was imminent, all those prisoners who had children should kill them; and by reason of this order, this wretched man, urged on by pangs of hunger, killed and ate his daughter. And when on a second occasion another order went out, he killed his own wife; but when her flesh was cooked and served up before him, he could not bring himself to eat it. Appalled by the horror of such a crime, we have thought fit to enjoin upon him this penance: that he never hereafter on any account eat meat, and that he fast every Friday on bread and water and likewise on the Monday and Wednesday in the Lent of Christmas and the Lent of Easter; and on other days of each Lent he is to fast devoutly and remain content with one dish of pottage, observing the same on the vigils of saints' days. He is to go about unshod, in a woollen tunic with a very short scapular, carrying a penitent's staff a cubit in length. He is to accept no more food from anyone than suffices for a day, and he is never to spend above two nights in the same place

[1] Migne, ccxiv. 1063.

unless driven by necessity and unable to proceed because of illness or war or weather. In this way let him visit the shrines of the saints for three years; and when he comes to a church let him prostrate himself and not enter until he has received discipline with rod or whip. He shall persist always without hope of marriage. He shall never attend public sports. He is to say the Lord's Prayer a hundred times every day and bow the knee each time. At the end of three years let him return with this letter to the Apostolic See to seek mercy, and take pains to observe what shall then be enjoined upon him. You, therefore, brethren and children, show pity to the pitiful and in the time of his need reveal to him the fulness of your love. Dated at the monastery of Subiaco, the 3rd of September, in the fifth year of our pontificate.

This letter, remarkable though it is, records routine business. Here is a more exceptional letter,[1] addressed a few months after Innocent became pope to Octavian, cardinal-bishop of Ostia:

A few days before we left Rome an aged (and, we believe, a devout) priest came to our presence and in private declared that the blessed apostle Peter had appeared to him in a vision by night as he slept, saying: 'Go to Pope Innocent and tell him from me that I have loved him as a son from his birth and after raising him to various ranks I have at last placed him in my seat. On this account he ought to love the beauty and honour of my house and improve it with vigilant care. Let him know, then, that only a few altars in my church are consecrated; and so it happens that the divine mysteries are celebrated on unconsecrated[2] altars. Let him cause to be consecrated with due reverence those altars at least on which he knows the divine office is often celebrated.' Now when the same vision had been revealed once and then again to the priest, and he had not done as he was ordered, the apostle spoke at last a third time, angrily saying: 'Because you have not hearkened to my command, I will take away from you your hearing'. Thenceforward he became so deaf that he could hear nothing. Crying bitterly and lamenting on this account, the pious man came to the shrine of St. Peter, asking with tears that he would take pity and restore him his hearing, for he would straightway fulfil his command. By God's mercy his prayer was heard, and he told us exactly what had happened to him. While, as the apostle says, we ought not to believe every spirit (1 John iv. 1), yet, since in a matter of this sort an angel of Satan would not transform himself into an angel of light (2 Cor. xi. 14) and since, when it would be proper to do what is proposed even if the revelation were untrue, it is better to show pious faith than rash incredulity, by this apostolic letter we bid you, brother, in whom we have full confidence, personally consecrate

[1] Migne, ccxiv. 336.

[2] *dissecratis.* This is an unusual, if not unique, use of the word in Latin. I am indebted to the Rev. Père Paul Grosjean, S.J. (Bollandist) for the suggestion that the priest who reported his vision thought, if he did not speak, in the vernacular, and that the pope adopted the word spoken to him. The context suggests that the meaning must be *unconsecrated*, not *desecrated* or *polluted*. On the other hand Dr. Michele Cerrati takes this to mean that Innocent 'fece riconsacrare' the altars (*Documenti e ricerche per la storia de l'antica basilica vaticana*, Studi e testi vol. 26 (Rome, 1914), p. 64, n. 1 and 2).

the altars of Saints Philip and James, Saints Simon and Jude, St. Gregory and St. Andrew, which are said to be unconsecrated, or else have them consecrated by others on our authority. For we believe that thereby the fruit of eternal reward will accrue to us.

As a final example, let me quote the letter addressed in May 1199 to all the ecclesiastical and lay princes of Germany.[1] It was written at a time when rival claimants for the crown of the Holy Roman Empire had been in the field for some months. The pope was keenly interested in the outcome, and was predisposed to Otto of Brunswick rather than Philip of Swabia, but he had not yet shown his hand. This is one of the earliest letters copied into the special *Register on Imperial Affairs* which was begun in the papal chancery in this year. The register contains some highly important statements of political theory and gives an excellent view of Innocent's diplomatic language and practice.

The degree of harmony which should prevail between Church and State is shown by Christ in His own person, Who is the King of kings and Lord of lords (I Tim. vi. 15), a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek (Heb. v. 6), Who in the human nature which He had taken upon Himself came of both priestly and royal stock. To indicate this harmony, indeed, the most blessed Peter spoke to those who had turned to the faith of Christ, saying : ' Ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood ' (I Pet. ii. 9). And Christ is addressed in the Apocalypse : ' Thou hast made us unto our God kings and princes ' (Apoc. v. 10). For these are the two cherubim with faces turned to the mercy-seat which are described as looking one to another, with their wings joined (cf. Exod. xxv. 18-20). These are the two marvellous and beautiful pillars placed by the gate in the porch of the temple, ' and a line of twelve cubits did compass either of them about ' (I Kings vii. 15-21). These are the two great lights which God made in the firmament of the heaven : ' the greater light to rule the day and the lesser light to rule the night ' (Gen. i. 16). They are the two swords concerning which the apostles answered : ' Behold, here are two swords ' (Luke xxii. 38). We refrain from expounding the meaning of all these texts and many more extracted from Holy Writ which expressly signify the harmony between Church and State, since the profit derived from this harmony makes it even clearer. For by this harmony the faith is spread and heresy confuted, virtues are implanted and vices cut down, justice is preserved and wickedness cast out ; peace flourishes, persecution subsides. With the pacification of the Christian people the barbarism of the

[1] ' Regestum domni Innocentii tertii pape super negotio romani imperii ', ep. 2 (Migne, ccxvi. 997). This register has been sumptuously reproduced in facsimile by Wilhelm Peitz, S.J. (Biblioteca Vaticana, 1928) ; there is an elaborate critical edition by Friedrich Kempf, S.J. (Misc. Historiae Pontificiae XII. 21 : Rome, Pont. Univ. Gregoriana, 1947) and a plain text by Walther Holtzmann (Bonn, 1947-48).

pagans is subdued, with the improvement of the State the liberty of the Church grows ; the security of the body conduces to the salvation of the soul, and the rights of both clergy and people are preserved.

While all realms in which the name of Christ is worshipped regard the Roman Church as their mother, yet the Roman Empire ought to embrace her particularly closely and devotedly, so that she may be succoured by the Empire's defence and may herself contribute to the needs of the Empire. But he who is always envious of peace and quiet has now divided the Roman Empire, just as formerly he divided the Roman Church, and has sown such discord among you that you have presumed to nominate two persons as your kings. Divided among yourselves, you stubbornly adhere to them without considering how many and how great are the dangers which this brings not only to the Roman Empire but to all Christian people. See how the liberty of the Empire is diminished by this cause of dissension. Laws are annulled, authority is curtailed, churches are destroyed, the poor are afflicted, the princes oppressed, the whole land is laid waste and (what is worse) there is likely to ensue the slaughter of men's bodies and the imperilling of their souls. This division, also, in no small degree emboldens the enemies of the Christian faith against the faithful.

Therefore, we who have heard and learnt about these things are grieved at heart and troubled with great sorrow (cf. Gen. vi. 6), for we do not (as some pestilent fellows pretend) aim at the ruin or abasement of the Empire ; rather do we aspire to preserve and exalt it, since although some emperors have violently injured the Church, others have shown her manifold honours.

But we have hitherto waited patiently (cf. Ps. xxxix. 1) to see whether you yourselves would be guided by wiser counsel and take pains to put an end to such ills or would have recourse to our aid, so that with your help this dissension might be allayed by us, to whom it belongs first and last to deal with this business. But because you have so far been negligent and idle we, who according to the words of the prophet (Jer. i. 10) are set by God over the nations and kingdoms to root out and to destroy, to build and to plant, anxious to fulfil the duties of our office, fervently admonish you all and exhort you in the Lord, ordering by this apostolic letter that you have the fear of God before your eyes and zeal for the honour of the Empire, lest its liberty perish or its authority be annihilated. Provide more diligently for it, lest by fostering discord you destroy the majesty of the Empire which ought to be preserved by your efforts. Otherwise, since longer delay is producing great danger, we shall arrange what we shall find to be expedient and shall take care to give the apostolic favour to him whom we shall consider to be supported by the greater zeal of his electors and his own superior merits.[1]

The great collection of letters of which the foregoing are samples cannot be understood without consideration being paid to their transmission. How have they come down to us ? The answer is : partly in the Vatican Registers—that is, the file-copies made and preserved by the papal chancery—partly in the originals despatched or in copies made from the originals, preserved

[1] ' quem credemus maioribus studiis et meritis adiuvari ' : cf. R. W. and A. J. Carlyle, *Medieval pol. theory in the west*, v (1928), 205.

in all parts of Europe by the pope's correspondents. The registers of Innocent III have attracted the attention of many scholars in the past hundred years, from Léopold Delisle to Fr. Friedrich Kempf.[1] Their researches have, among other results, established the twofold object of the registers—as memoranda for the pope and his clerks and as authentic record for the recipients of papal grants and mandates. This explains the absence of some letters from the registers. Apart from the fact that whole categories of letters went unregistered, the choice depended in some measure on the taste and habit of individual clerks rather than on a fixed office-routine. Any argument from silence is therefore precluded. Access to the register was readily allowed to petitioners in the Curia—indeed, too readily, as appears from Innocent III's letters [2] about an Hungarian cleric who was shown the register of Pope Alexander III so that he might inspect the copy of a letter, and who cunningly cut out and stole two leaves from the middle of a quire, leaving the binding thread untouched; the loss was only discovered later. The registers also provided a source for the decretal-collections prepared by canon lawyers: this meant that the enregistered copy of a letter might be touched up to produce a more satisfactory legal pronouncement. The mere fact of registration may be significant for an understanding of the background and import of a letter. Von Heckel pointed out [3] how a mere 'letter of justice'—normally a common form, not seen by the pope and not enregistered—came exceptionally to be entered because it introduced a new rule of law. Again, Fr. Kempf, investigating the dates at which the special registration of imperial business was started, dropped, and resumed, offers a valuable means of interpreting the pope's policy towards the imperial election.[4]

Then there are the letters which have survived only outside the papal archives. First of all, how is one to determine their authenticity? The letters in the register make it clear that

[1] L. Delisle, 'Mémoire sur les actes d'Innocent III', *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, xix (1857); F. Kempf, *Die Register Innocenz III* (Misc. Hist. Pont. IX. 18: Rome, 1945). [2] Migne, ccxiv. 494, 502.

[3] R. von Heckel, in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, lv (1935), 277-304, cf. lvii (1937), 86-93.

[4] Kempf, *Die Register*, pp. 45-65.

forgeries of the pope's letters existed in plenty. In 1207 the bishop and dean of Paris referred to the pope a decretal lately alleged in court before them. The pope, in reply,[1] quotes the decretal in full and denounces it : it has certain parts consonant with the law, with which the forger has coloured his lies, but it is no *decretale*, rather a *concretale*. The canonist Bernardus Compostellanus puts on record [2] concerning a decretal ascribed to Innocent III that the pope had told him personally that it was not his, although it was not repugnant to the law. In several letters Innocent describes how he detected forgeries by personal examination of them. This suggests that there is room for diplomatic criticism in the strict Mabillonian sense : the applying of criteria to distinguish the true from the false. Fortunately enough authentic letters survive and enough is known of the practices of the papal chancery to permit the applying of fairly satisfactory tests.

It is equally important to determine concerning any authentic letter, however preserved, whether it reached the destination for which it was originally intended. This commonplace deserves a little attention. The pope quite often has to entrust to delegates in distant places letters which could be used, and should only be used, in certain circumstances.[3] Sometimes alternative forms were provided. Both forms or neither of them might be enregistered.[4] Or letters might be countermanded after they had been copied into the register, and the fact would not necessarily be noted.[5] Moreover, even if a letter were delivered to a litigant or a petitioner, it might be inopportune to use the letter,

[1] Migne, ccxv. 1113-14. One part of the quoted decretal is found as a letter of Innocent III to the archbishop of Canterbury in the appendix to a decretal-collection in the Bodleian MS. Tanner 8. See W. Holtzmann in *Festschrift zur Feier des 200 jährigen Bestehens der Akad. der Wissensch. in Göttingen, 1951* (phil.-hist. Kl.), p. 144.

[2] *Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akad.* (phil.-hist. Kl.), clxxi (1914), ii. 116.

[3] Helene Tillmann, 'Ueber päpstl. Schreiben mit bedingter Gültigkeit im 12 u. 13 Jh.', in *Mitteilungen des oesterreich. Instituts für Geschichtsforschung*, xlv (1931), 191-200. The same procedure is found in the government of the centralized religious orders ; a good example (A.D. 1210) may be seen in *Statuta ord. Cisterciensis*, ed. J. M. Canivez, i (Louvain, 1933), p. 374, no. 30.

[4] Cf. Migne, ccxiv. 490.

[5] Cf. *Studies . . . pres. to F. M. Powicke* (1948), p. 109, n. 3.

and since the addressee of a papal mandate was seldom the person who procured the mandate from the curia, the addressee would never see it. This is what the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury told the pope in an elaborately elegant letter [1] in 1200, when they were in the midst of a lawsuit with their archbishop, Hubert Walter. They had feared an unfavourable verdict from the pope's delegates because, so they said, in England they could not get any good barristers to oppose the archbishop (who was also the king's chancellor); so they had obtained a letter from the pope dated 21 May 1200 revoking the commission of his delegates and summoning the parties to be at Rome in November 1200. But by the time the monks had obtained this letter (and the getting of it must have taken two months at least), circumstances had altered. They had (according to their own story) secured the services of skilled lawyers who had come to Becket's shrine on pilgrimage from overseas, and thanks to them the monks' prospects in the case before the delegates looked brighter. Furthermore, the monks admitted that they did not like the terms of the pope's letter of 21 May 1200, which did not provide all the legal safeguards of his former mandate. They therefore wrote to Innocent, asking him to defer the action contemplated; and in the sequel they came to a settlement under the arbitration of the original delegates. Such incidents as this must have happened often. A few years later, in December 1206, monks of Canterbury brought home from Rome a letter addressed to King John on behalf of their sub-prior as a candidate for the office of archbishop. But by the time it reached England, the convent had repudiated the sub-prior and the letter can never have been delivered to the king. It is still in the archives of Christ Church, Canterbury.[2] Clearly, we cannot assume that because a letter went out from the Curia, it reached its destination.

Another critical question now arises. How accurate are the letters as narratives of the events which they describe. One obvious reason why the historian finds in Innocent III's letters an incomparable source is their lengthy narratives. It may be a series of diplomatic *démarches*, such as the pope describes in his

[1] *Epistolae cantuarienses*, ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls series, 1865), p. 510.
[2] See *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research*, xxi (1948), 233-8.

letter [1] of 16 November 1202 to the Byzantine emperor; or the various stages in a protracted lawsuit, as recounted in his letter [2] of 4 June 1202 to the archbishop of Canterbury; or the report of a violent assault upon a prelate, as graphically described in the pope's letter [3] of 21 June 1199 to the king of Hungary. As regards the record of diplomatic events, we may take it that when the pope gives a résumé of the letter to which he replies, the résumé is correct; when he goes beyond this to describe oral negotiations and discussion with third parties, there is not the same *prima facie* case, and outside corroboration is usually lacking. The position is much worse when we turn to letters recounting litigation and the hardships suffered by petitioners. For here the narrative commonly precedes a mandate for delegates to act in a certain way *si res ita se habet*, or *si ita est*, or with some other phrase anticipating the possibility that matters have been fraudulently represented to the pope. The common form, 'No letter is to prejudice truth or justice' (quoted above in the letter concerning the relics of S. Loup), points the same way. These phrases only confirm what we know from other sources: that the pope continually sent out orders based on *ex parte* statements. The practice is commented upon with some asperity by Archbishop Hubert Walter in 1198, in a letter [4] to Bishop John of Norwich: 'the lord pope, who is violently opposed to me, has denied a hearing to my clerks who wanted to reply to each charge on my behalf, and has straightway, without enquiry into the truth, granted the monks a letter in which he orders me to demolish the church of Lambeth'. This feature of papal letters should warn us against taking all their statements about past events at face-value.

The letter to the princes of Germany quoted above raises a much bigger problem, involving questions of style and authorship: are the letters an accurate guide to the pope's sentiments and doctrines and policy? Without doubt they are commonly treated as such. Historians of the Church and of political theory construct from them a composite picture of the pope's theories of government. It is not always remembered that these papal

[1] Migne, ccxiv. 1123.
[2] *Ibid.* ccxiv. 1026.
[3] *Ibid.* ccxiv. 643.
[4] *Epist. cantuar.*, p. 395.

letters were not for the most part set treatises on the nature of political authority or anything of that sort; they were occasional statements adapted to the correspondents and to the circumstances. Rarely will the pope feel called upon to deal so comprehensively with the doctrine of Church and State as he does in the letter 'Solitae benignitatis',[1] addressed to the Byzantine Emperor Alexius III. Nevertheless, these various casual statements have the advantage for historians that each letter shows the pope's response to a particular known situation and can be dated with far more precision than can most medieval treatises. That suggests, I may remark in passing, the desirability of studying the pope's letters with strict attention to chronology, to observe, if possible, developments in his ideas in the course of his eighteen-year-long pontificate.[2]

But this appraisal of individual letters cannot go on unless something is known about the manner of their composition. First, some remarks about the literary style. The diction of the pope's writing office, in his chancery, had developed through long centuries, retaining many ancient formulas and epithets. But it had changed markedly during the twelfth century in accordance with the newly established fashion of rhythmic prose. A style evolved (not, indeed, peculiar to the papal chancery) which was sonorous, balanced, smooth; but its practitioners could not be brief. Too often they produce so many words as to stifle the sense, and darkly convey quite ordinary sentiments in long, labyrinthine periods. The letters of Innocent III show these features in general.[3] For an understanding of th m it is important to recognize that certain polite formulas are repeatedly used and are devoid of special significance. For instance, a king—even when he is in the pope's bad books and is on the verge of excommunication—will be addressed and be referred to as the pope's most dear son in Christ. Similarly, the special prerogative love which the pope expresses for Sancho, king of Portugal,

[1] Migne, ccxvi. 1182.

[2] Cf. Carlyle's discussion of a change in the pope's attitude to the imperial election between 1199 and 1202 (*op. cit.* v. 218-19).

[3] J. de Ghellinck considers that Innocent III's letters are a little better in this respect than those of his predecessors (*L'essor de la littérature latine* (Brussels 1946), i. 67-8).

in December 1198 becomes less remarkable when we find the same preference expressed for the kings of Sicily, Jerusalem, England, and Hungary, in letters written within a few months of this one.[1] This does not convict the pope of insincerity: it merely shows that we must try to recognize the papal chancery's conventions. These conventions sometimes have a more positive significance. At a time when the pope was beginning to regard favourably Philip of Swabia, whom he had formerly rejected as a claimant to the imperial crown, the honorific *serenitas* creeps into a letter to Philip,[2] although the word was usually reserved for crowned heads: it shows more plainly than the rest of the letter the direction in which the pope was moving.

Innocent III issued a great many grants of familiar privileges, mandates appointing judges, and other routine letters, which do not show any marked change from earlier papal correspondence. They could be composed by any well-trained curial clerk.[3] But the letters (especially those in the registers) include many on political affairs, many judicial decisions, many exhortations to prelates to be zealous pastors and to the faithful laity to support Crusades. There are also many rescripts which state the pope's opinion on points of canon law, and these often involved theological and moral considerations. Here the draftsman had more latitude, and he usually availed himself of it, adapting his manner to the subject in hand.

The letters were written in the name of Innocent III, but how many did he write himself? Can one distinguish between those which were his own composition and the letters composed by his chancellor and clerks? No scholar has worked to answer these questions with the care which was bestowed some years ago by Blaul and Caspar on the letters of Pope Gregory VII,[4] when it seemed possible to attribute certain letters to that pope on stylistic and other grounds. It is commonly assumed that

[1] Migne, ccxiv. 419, 389-90, 417, 451, 473, cf. cxvi. 513, 515.

[2] Reg. super negotio imperii, no. 143 (Migne, ccxvi. 1142).

[3] On this the article of Professor G. Barraclough, 'Audientia litterarum contradictarum', in *Dict. de droit canonique*, i (1935), 1388, provides an excellent guide.

[4] Blaul in *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, iv (1911), 113 sqq. and Caspar in *Das Register Gregors VII* (Mon. Germ. Hist., 1920), pp. xv-xvi. Cf. p. 39 n. 1.

Innocent III has left the stamp of his own style and personality on many of the letters. The late Augustin Fliche characterized them by ' a studied style, full of imagery, fertile in antitheses, rich in reminiscences of the liturgy and of the Old and New Testaments, with passages from profane authors, notably Horace and Ovid, and with Scriptural comparisons which are sometimes rather forced '.[1] Such letters, indeed, there are and the probability that the pope wrote them is increased by stylistic likenesses with Innocent's theological works, written before he became pope. Moreover, the letters of Innocent's immediate predecessors do not show so markedly these features. The same school of rhetoric had produced their tropes, but they very seldom develop—as the Innocentian letters sometimes do—into a little theological or moral essay, serving as the preamble to a precise mandate or indulgence. An example will show this type of preamble. In 1206 Innocent had to complain that the English collectors of a tax for the Crusade, demanded six years earlier, had been negligent in their task. His letter [2] to two English bishops enjoining action begins as follows :

> So deficient and unstable is human fragility and the downward path to evil so slippery and smooth, that if, disregarding the offence against God, men could work evil without temporal penalty or restraint, many would this very day be found culpable and evil-doing who are accounted firm in their faith and active in good works. Therefore, although by nature we are equal and formed out of the same lump, yet for the correction of this unsteadiness and weakness, by the organization of government, some men are made prelates over others, and by God's ordering are appointed to ranks of dignity and to the honours of pre-eminent station. In this way the censure of a superior may correct offences committed through the negligence or malice of subordinates, and thus, one being directed and confirmed in the path of rectitude by another, we may pass more safely to our fatherland, provided (as it were) with guides through the desert places of our earthly home and the valley of pilgrimage in which we dwell and abide in this life.

This is scarcely typical of the large extent to which the language of the letters echoes the Bible. In the letter to the princes of Germany which has been quoted there are twelve biblical parallels. The preamble to a letter of protection for a religious

[1] A. Fliche and E. Jarry, *Hist. de l'Eglise*, x : La chrétienté romaine (1950), p. 15.

[2] *English Hist. Rev.*, lxiii (1948), 347-8.

house [1] crams ten Scriptural texts (mostly Pauline) into the space of twenty short lines. Another letter [2] strings together three quotations from the book of Proverbs, thus : ' For you know by the teaching of Holy Writ that a father chastises the son in whom he delights (iii. 12), and the stripes of a friend are better than the kisses of an enemy (cf. xxvii. 6), and reproofs of instruction are the way of life (vi. 23) '. A biography of Innocent, in which Frederick Rolfe collaborated and which shows more than one Corvine characteristic, draws attention to the pope's exhaustive knowledge of the Scriptures—' as may be seen in his sermons, which, for ingenious and fecund stringing-together of texts, suggest the fine old-fashioned style of evangelicals of the mid-Victorian era '.[3] More or less ingenuity is displayed in the application of texts to unexpected ends. Sometimes the effect is banal, as : ' When the true Moses—that is, Christ—raises his hands—that is, gives help and solace—the victory goes to Israel —that is, the Church '.[4] At other times the text illustrates strikingly the nature of the pope's authority. The most famous cases of this are the numerous references to Melchizedek, the priest-king, and to the texts concerning St. Peter.[5] Another instance [6] emphasizes the pope's judicial authority in the Church : ' Out of the mouth of Him who sat upon the throne issued a two-edged sword. This is the sword of Solomon which cuts both ways, giving to each his due. We therefore who, although unworthy, occupy by God's mercy the place of the true Solomon, wield the sword wisely when we decide according to the dictates of justice in legal fashion the questions ventilated in our court. For puzzling questions which arise and knotty points of litigation are referred to the Apostolic See so that when the merits of a case have been exposed by the statements of the parties, sentence may come forth from the Apostolic See, turning dubieties into certainties and bringing obscurities into the light ; so that the

[1] Migne, ccxiv. 504. [2] *Ibid.* ccxvii. 365.

[3] C. H. C. Pirie-Gordon, *Innocent the Great* (1907), p. 209.

[4] Migne, ccxiv. 815.

[5] See K. Burdach, *Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation*, II. i (1913), 240-62, and G. Martini, ' Regale sacerdotium ', *Archivio della Società romana di storia patria*, lxi (1938), pp. 1-166.

[6] Migne, ccxiv. 246, cf. ccxv. 195.

dissension of litigants is appeased and justice protects and emulates her author.'

On the assumption that the letters were framed by the pope, scholars have seen in them traces of his education. He owed much to his Parisian studies in the Bible, where (as he himself tells us [1]) Pierre de Corbeil, a noted commentator, had been his teacher. His legal studies at Bologna [2] had certainly been of equal importance, and the letters commonly quote the canons contained in the *Decretum* of Gratian and refer occasionally to the civil law. Sprinkled through the correspondence are tags such as a law-student would recall, taken from the *Code* or *Digest* : 'non habet imperium par in parem', 'Cessante causa cessare debet effectus', and the like. More than this, the structure of rescripts and their authoritative tone recall the imperial style of the civil law books. Along with these features minor points emerge in a taste for parallels between words of similar sound (parachesis) : thus, *affectus* and *effectus*, *servire* and *sevire*,[3] and for transpositions of epithets : thus, *fidelitas devota et fidelis devotio, non solum discretionis spiritum verum etiam discretionem spiritus, unitatis concordiam et concordie unitatem, culpabiliter durum et dure culpabilem.*[4] These would not attract much notice were they not closely paralleled in Innocent's sermons and other treatises : for example, *O superba praesumptio et praesumptuosa superbia.*[5]

These characteristics, recurring in one letter after another, tend to the conclusion that Innocent himself drafted many of the

[1] Migne, ccxiv. 442-4. Cf. M. Maccarrone, 'Innocenzo III prima del pontificato', *Archivio della r. deputazione romana di storia patria*, lxvi (1943), 73-4.

[2] His teacher was Huguccio, for whom, in this connection, see A. Stickler, 'Der Schwerterbegriff bei Huguccio', *Ephemerides iuris canonici*, iii (Rome, 1947), 201-42.

[3] Migne, ccxiv. 418, 377. Cf. 'Quia seculo senescente, in sua segnescit meditatione Maria', *ibid.* ccxv. 618. This feature of Innocent's style may result from his familiarity with St. Augustine's writings : see Mary I. Barry, *St. Augustine the Orator* (Washington, 1924), pp. 70-4 and C. I. Balmus, *Etude sur le style de S. Augustin dans les Confessions et la Cité de Dieu* (1930), pp. 294-5.

[4] Migne, ccxiv. 265; ccxvi. 101, 884, 1140. Cf. *ibid.* ccxv. 574: 'dispensando dissimulat et dissimulando dispensat'.

[5] *Ibid.* ccxvii. 729, cf. 658, 705. This feature also finds a parallel in St. Augustine's writings : see Balmus, pp. 158-9.

letters. They encourage us to seek signs of the pope's character, although the letters are all official letters and the man is submerged in his office. The pope cannot but be pontifical. Pope Gregory VII had occasionally descended from the pontifical 'we' to a personal 'I'; Innocent III never does so. Yet he was, if we may judge from his other writings and from the statements of contemporaries, a man of very strong personality, who joined to his high ideas of papal authority a keen sense of the obligations of priestly office and a deep Christian faith. Surely, if he himself drafted the letters, some sign of this would appear? Innocent's dominant personality and ready speech is recorded in some sharp and sarcastic retorts to those who pleaded in law-suits before him. The same personal note, tinged with impatience, seems to sound now and then in the letters, as when a correspondent is told that the pope cannot be in two places at once, or that, although he is God's deputy on earth, he has no power of divination. A letter to the distinguished scholar, Master Prepositinus, begins: 'Time was when we believed that wisdom governed the elderly and prudence adorned the learned'.[1]

Over and above these possible indications of temperament, the different facets of the pope's character are reflected with special intensity in some of the letters. The *Register on Imperial Affairs* shows his pretensions in the sphere of politics, the letters on the pope's accession are imbued with a strong piety, a rescript to the bishop of Ferrara[2] gives what purports to be the pope's own opinion on a christological question. Again, it is difficult to believe that the anxious insistence on the pope's desire to maintain the rights of others and on his duty to answer before God for the wise and the unwise are commonplaces dragged into the letters by subordinate draftsmen. At the same time, we must squarely face the facts that there is no positive proof of the pope's drafting of any particular letter and that we cannot hope to distinguish clearly between those which he wrote and those written by high officials of the Curia who shared his views and his intellectual background, and acted under his orders and influence. Nor can we assume that the most eloquent or the

[1] Migne, ccxiv. 319, 350; ccxv. 43. [2] *Ibid.* ccxvi. 16-18.

most profound letters are necessarily those which the pope himself composed.[1]

A final remark about authorship must be made. Although internal evidence suggests that the pope may have taken a large part in all but the routine correspondence, many law-suits in the Curia were entrusted to members of the pope's household,[2] and in these cases at least the narrative incorporated in the written judgment must usually have been worded by the auditor or his clerk. Further, when the pope had occasion (as in a bull of canonization[3]) to state facts or allegations brought forward by a petitioner, he commonly used the words of a written petition, even to the point of incorporating its turns of rhetoric and scriptural similes.

The richly figured style, studded with quotations from the prophets and apostles, is an embarrassment to those who wish to understand Innocent III's political theory—as may be judged from the controversy which still wages on this matter. Did the pope claim simply that the head of the Church possessed authority superior in nature to that of the head of the State, or did he claim that the temporal ruler derived his authority from the Church and that he, Pope Innocent, ruled over men's bodies as well as over their souls?[4]

The question cannot properly be answered by quoting any single pronouncement of the pope. The language of symbolism which is invoked to describe the relations of *regnum* and *sacerdotium*—the two swords, the sun and the moon—sounds impressive but lacks precision. Then there are the favourite scriptural

[1] Cf. Caspar's judicious remarks, *Das Register Gregors VII*, p. xvi. Besides the references given above see, on the pope's style, Marie Florin, ' Innocenz III als Schriftsteller u. als Papst, ein Vergleich ', *Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch.*, xlv (1927), 334-57, and Edelgard von Strube, *Innozenz' III politische Korrespondenz u. die religiöse Weltherrschaftsidee der Kurie* (Libau, 1936).

[2] E.g. Migne, ccxv. 1281, 1285.

[3] E.g. R. Foreville, *Un procès de canonisation* (1943), pp. 34-5, cf. 31.

[4] See for example E. W. Meyer, *Staatstheorien Papst Innocenz' III* (Bonn, 1919), Carlyle, *Med. pol. theory*, vols. ii and v, Michele Maccarrone, ' Chiesa e stato nella dottrina di papa Innocenzo III ', *Lateranum*, n.s. VI. 3-4 (Rome, 1940 (1941)), Helene Tillmann, ' Zur Frage des Verhältnisses von Kirche und Staat in Lehre und Praxis Papst Innocenz' III ', *Deutsches Archiv*, ix (1951), 136-81, and the works of Burdach, Martini, and Strube cited above.

texts, such as 'Thou makest them princes in all the earth' (Ps. xliv. 17 Vulg.; xlv. 16 A.V.), 'I have this day set thee over the nations', etc. (Jer. i. 10), and 'Ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood', etc. (1 Peter ii. 9). If these texts were held to imply political dominion, then the pope was making the widest claims; but did he wish them to be interpreted in any but a spiritual sense? A recent exegetist, Monsignore Michele Maccarrone, calls attention to the recurrence of the most striking texts in the liturgy for the feast of SS. Peter and Paul. He argues that as they are in the liturgy invested with an exclusively spiritual meaning, so Innocent III put the same construction on the words.[1] But Innocent upon occasion quotes Horace and Ovid, and no one supposes that he always imports into the words the poets' meaning. Why then should we suppose that every phrase borrowed from the Bible or the liturgy carries with it, when used by this pope, its original meaning? Why should we suppose that he restricts himself to the interpretations of his predecessors or even that he employs the words in the same sense on each occasion? It is of the essence of the literary style which he practised that texts and similes and metaphors can be adapted to varying circumstances, do not always bear the same construction.[2] To interpret Innocent's utterances correctly it is not enough to search out the sources of his terminology. We must weigh his words with his deeds and consider how and when each important letter came to be written.

For however single-minded the pope was in seeking the regeneration of Christendom (following the royal road, deviating neither to the right nor to the left—as he forever tells his correspondents), where his work impinged on politics he was an opportunist. It was not only in discussing the imperial election that he proposed the three tests: *quid liceat, quid deceat, quid expediat*.[3] The same threefold question is raised on other

[1] Maccarrone, 'Chiesa e stato', pp. 10, 27-8, 30-1, etc.

[2] Cf. Strube, p. 121 and Martini, p. 136.

[3] Reg. super negotio imperii no. 29 (Migne, ccxvi. 1025). Cf. ccxiv. 59 and ccxv. 1498. The phrase is used by Innocent's notary, Thomas of Capua (Emmy Heller, in *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, xiii (1935), 288); another who used it was Abbot Guibert of Gembloux (Migne, ccxi. 1304). The contrasting of these three verbs is found in late classical latin (*Thes. ling. lat.*, V. 2 fasc. xi, col. 1614).

occasions in his letters. And among his biblical texts he is fond of 'a time to keep silence and a time to speak' (Eccles. iii. 7).

The chronology of the letters is of interest in this connection. Besides the fact that the most high-sounding and extensive statements of papal authority come from the first four years of the pontificate, it is noticeable that the *plenitudo potestatis*, which is prominent in the preambles to many comparatively unimportant letters in the early years, is far less often introduced into letters in later years. Within a week of the pope's consecration he informed the archbishop of Ravenna [1] that ecclesiastical liberty is nowhere better safeguarded than where the Roman Church has full power both in temporal and in spiritual affairs. The following year he praised the king of Armenia [2] for seeking the help of the Roman Church not only in spiritual but also in temporal matters. I do not think one often finds such language later. May it not be that the young pope, fresh from his legal studies, was more outspoken than the disillusioned statesman of the second decade? It no longer seemed expedient to harp continually on these themes in his public utterances, though the policy was unchanged. Perhaps the veiled, ambiguous style so often adopted for conveying the pope's political ideas was imposed by circumstances. The bull 'Etsi karissimus', by which Innocent condemned and annulled Magna Carta in August 1215, is anything but explicit. Historians and canonists are hard put to it to say precisely on what grounds Innocent justified this action.[3] But what, after all, did that matter? Diplomatic correspondence of this sort is framed not so much to expose the writer's thoughts as to explain his action without violent shock to public opinion.

And so we come to a related topic: the effect of these letters on the pope's correspondents. Church historians have been prone to treat the letters of Innocent III as evidence not only of his intentions but of his achievements. In the sphere of politics

[1] Migne, ccxiv. 21. [2] *Ibid.* ccxiv. 813.

[3] Cf. *Magna Carta commemoration essays* (Royal Hist. Soc., 1917), pp. 26-40, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xxxiii (1918), 263-4, W. Ullmann, *Medieval papalism* (1949), pp. 71-5.

this is only true to a strictly limited extent. History written from the letters alone will be badly distorted. The occasions when kings and princes unwillingly did as they were told at the pope's bidding are not many. The duke of Bulgaria might be prepared to receive a crown from the pope, and King John might surrender England and Ireland to receive them back as fiefs of the Roman See: both thereby recognized the superiority of the pope. But in each case the sequel shows that the lay prince got the better of the bargain. King Philip Augustus not only answers curtly the pope's attempts to intervene in French politics, but mobilizes the nobles of France in defence of the lay power. The most striking of Innocent III's letters on political theory which found their way into the law-books—the decretals *Novit ille*, *Venerabilem*, and *Solitae benignitatis*[1]—bore little or no fruit at the time.

In the more strictly ecclesiastical business of appeals to Rome, there is often to be seen a wide gap between a mandate and its execution. Execution might be delayed because of political disorders or a royal prohibition. Doubts, real or feigned, might arise about the authenticity of the mandate; or any one of numerous exceptions might be pleaded against it. Ambiguities in the mandate might be beyond the powers of judges-delegate to solve, as when in 1200 a long wrangle between opposing counsel ended with the judges referring the ' verborum obscuritatem ' to the pope. And the judges in this case were no less persons than Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, Eustace, bishop of Ely, and Samson, abbot of St. Edmunds.[2] In short, our conclusion on this matter must be that the efficacy of papal government under Innocent III cannot be measured simply by reading the papal letters and counting the cases in which the pope intervened.

It has been no part of my plan to make an estimate of Innocent III's character or achievements. These topics have arisen incidentally in a discussion of the letters. My remarks on the letters have tended in the main to diminish their face-value in one

[1] *Decretals* of Gregory IX, II. 1, 13 and I. 6, 34, and Migne, ccxvi. 1182.

[2] *Epistolae cantuar.*, pp. 494-6. An example of the temporary suppression of a papal letter for political and military reasons is recorded in the letter of Boniface of Montferrat to the pope, April 1203 (Migne, ccxv. 105).

way or another. But criticism of this kind brings its compensations. Each letter becomes more significant when it is seen in its setting, when its phraseology is compared with that of other letters. And the correspondence as a whole becomes a surer guide to the apparent contradictions of Innocent's many-sided genius, and to the conflicts, the successes, and the failures of his pontificate.

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF SALADIN

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IN the effort to penetrate behind the external history of a person whose reputation rests upon some military achievement, the modern tendency is to analyse the complex of circumstances within which he acted, with the sometimes explicit suggestion that the individual is rather the creature than the creator of his circumstances, or, more justly, that his achievement is to be explained by a harmonious adjustment of his genius to the conditions within which it operated. That this is generally true calls for no argument. But history, especially the history of the Near East, is full of conquering kings, who seem to owe nothing to their circumstances except the possession of a powerful army and the weakness of their antagonists. The question posed by the career of Saladin is whether he was just another such conqueror, or whether it involved distinctive moral elements which gave his initial victory and subsequent struggle with the Third Crusade a quality of its own. That he fought in the cause of Islām against the Crusaders is not enough to justify an affirmative answer to the second question, and might even be irrelevant. To put the matter precisely: was Saladin one of those unscrupulous, but fortunate, generals whose motive was personal ambition and lust of conquest, and who merely exploited religious catchwords and sentiments to achieve their own ends?

The problem is thus one which involves a judgment upon interior questions of personality and motive. It is rarely indeed in medieval history that we have at our disposal authentic materials from which positive conclusions, that will stand up to rigorous historical criticism, can be drawn as to the motives of prominent historical figures. Before entering on the discussion at all, therefore, it is necessary to be assured that some at least of our sources are of a kind which offers some possibility of reaching an answer. For the life and achievements of Saladin we possess, by a fortunate conjunction, five contemporary sources in Arabic,

in whole or in part, besides casual references in the writings of travellers and others. Of these five, one has survived only in fragments. This is the history of Ibn Abī Ṭaiy, who, as a Shi'ite of Aleppo, one would expect to be hostile to Saladin (as he clearly was to his predecessor Nūr ad-Dīn), but in fact shows himself, in the quotations from his works by other writers, to be rather favourably disposed to him.

The three other historical sources were all written by Easterners, not Syrians. The most famous is the Mosul historian Ibn al-Athīr, who belonged to a feudal family in close relations with the Zangid princes of Mosul and wrote a panegyrical history of their dynasty. His presentation of Saladin fairly reflects the original hostility and later wry admiration and grudging allegiance of the Zangid partisans. But except for this psychological attitude he is not a first-hand source. All, or almost all, his narratives relating to Saladin were taken from the works of Saladin's secretary 'Imād ad-Dīn and rewritten with an occasional twist or admixture of fiction.[1] Irrespective of his personal attitude, however, it is obvious that a chronicler, even if contemporary, cannot be relied upon to solve questions of interior personality and motive; if, therefore, we had nothing but Ibn Abī Ṭaiy's and Ibn al-Athīr's chronicles to go by, we should have no means at all of discovering the real quality of Saladin's achievement.

Equally well known is the biography of Saladin by his Judge of the Army, the qāḍī Bahā ad-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, also of Mosul. From 1188 Bahā ad-Dīn was the confidant and intimate friend of Saladin, and his history, written in a simple and straightforward style, portrays Saladin for us, as no ordinary chronicle can do, in his character as a man. Bahā ad-Dīn may perhaps be called uncritical, but he was no deluded hero-worshipper. His admiration is that of an upright and honest friend from whom nothing was concealed, and there can be no question of deliberate suppression or deflection of the truth in his narrative of the last five years of Saladin's life. To have one such source for the history of any medieval prince is rare indeed. The portrait it gives us,

[1] See 'Arabic Sources for the Life of Saladin' in *Speculum*, xxv. no. i, pp. 58-72 (Cambridge, Mass., 1950).

however, is that of Saladin at his climax of success and in the desperate conflict of the Third Crusade ; it supplies, therefore, little direct evidence on the long and hard struggle to build up his power.

In these circumstances it is a piece of incredibly good fortune that our fourth source, which covers (in the original text or in reliable summaries) the whole of his active career, is almost equally close and authoritative. This source is the works of 'the Secretary' (*al-Kātib*) 'Imād ad-Dīn, a native of Isfahān. He belonged to the relatively new class of college-trained civil servants, entered the employment first of the Seljuk Sultans and the Caliphs in 'Irāq, then rose to high rank at Damascus in the service of Nūr ad-Dīn, and finally became personal secretary to Saladin in 1175. In addition to his two-volume history of the campaigns of 1187-88 and the Third Crusade,[1] he wrote a large work in seven volumes, entitled *al-Barq al-Shāmī*, covering the period of his own career under Nūr ad-Dīn and Saladin. Of this work only two volumes of the original are known to have survived, but the whole was carefully summarized by Abū Shāma of Damascus (d. 1267).

'Imād ad-Dīn was one of the most famous stylists of his age, and his works are composed in the elaborate and florid rhyming prose cultivated by the secretarial class ; yet with all his display of verbal virtuosity, his actual narratives of events are invariably full, precise, and straightforward. He shows no sign of the twisting of facts, whether to cover up his own weaknesses or those of others or for the sake of a rhyme, nor of fanciful adulation, even of Saladin. To be sure he greatly admired Saladin, yet in his writings he criticizes at times his actions and judgment, and indeed seems to have done so to his face. He was on the best of terms with his official superior, the Chief Secretary al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, and he was clearly too conscious of his own merits and of the trust reposed in him to play the toady or to conceal the truth. His *Barq* is, one might say, almost as much an autobiography as it is a history of Saladin ; and its importance is that it presents Saladin to us from the angle of a trained administrator,

[1] *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine*, ed. Carlo de Landberg, Leyden, 1888. This text has been little used so far by historians of the Crusades.

in close and daily contact with him, though on a less intimate footing than Bahā ad-Dīn.

The fifth of our sources is in some respects the most valuable of all. These are the despatches and letters of his most trusted adviser and Secretary of State, the Palestinian al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, preserved in full or in excerpts in the works of 'Imād ad-Dīn, Abū Shāma, and various collections of documents. The intimacy of the relation between them can be felt in the loyal and affectionate letters addressed by al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil to Saladin, especially during the Third Crusade, sustaining him in times of adversity and even admonishing him on occasions. While, therefore, the historian will treat with all necessary caution the more elaborate public despatches addressed by al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil on Saladin's behalf to the Caliphs and other potentates, yet the consistency with which certain themes and ideas are expressed in them must be taken to reflect some at least of Saladin's real purposes and ideals.

Saladin's fame, as has already been said, rests upon his military achievement in the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn in 1187 and subsequent recapture of Jerusalem. Consequently, he is regarded by historical writers, both Muslim and Christian, as, first and foremost, a general, and secondly as the founder of a dynasty. The first is, naturally enough, the view taken in the western sources for the Third Crusade, and it is encouraged by Ibn al-Athīr's presentation of him as a man who used his military talents to satisfy his dynastic ambitions and to build up a vast empire.

It is from the same angle that he is compared or contrasted with his predecessor Nūr ad-Dīn. Unfortunately, we do not possess for an estimation of Nūr ad-Dīn's personality anything comparable to the materials that exist for the study of Saladin. All the contemporary Muslim records (save for casual anecdotes) are chronicles, and their panegyrical tone reflects the attitude of Sunnī circles to his services not only in organizing the defence of Syria against the Crusaders, but also (and perhaps even more) in propagating orthodoxy by the foundation and endowment of religious institutions (mosques, madrasas, oratories, sufi convents)[1] and by repression of the Shi'ites. Later chronicles,

[1] See N. Elisséeff, 'Les Monuments de Nūr ad-Dīn' in *Bulletin d'Études Orientales*, t. xiii, Damascus 1951, pp. 5-43.

except for the extracts preserved from the works of the Aleppo Shi'ite writer Ibn Abī Ṭaiy, are even more eulogistic. But when the judgment even of Christian writers like William of Tyre concords with their attitude, we can be sure that it is a faithful reflection of Nūr ad-Dīn's *public* life ; and it would be a gratuitous assumption, in the face of such evidence, that, inasmuch as these measures served the political interests of Nūr ad-Dīn, they were not motivated by sincere personal attachment to their objects and ideals.

There are, however, some essential differences between the circumstances in which Nūr ad-Dīn and Saladin carried out their tasks. Nūr ad-Dīn operated *from within* the structure of politics of his age. Since the break-up of the Seljuk sultanate at the end of the eleventh century, Western Asia had been parcelled out amongst a number of local dynasties, all of them (except a few remote baronies) founded by Turkish generals or Turcoman chiefs, and all of them characterized by two common features. One was the spirit of personal advantage and aggrandizement which determined their political actions and relationships. It seems well-nigh impossible to discover in the relations of the Turkish princes or the Turcoman chiefs with one another—even when they were members of the same family—any sense of loyalty or restraint in exploiting each other's weaknesses, let alone that solidarity shown, for example, by the Buwaihid brothers in Persia in the tenth century. The tale of plots, revolts, ephemeral alliances, treacheries, calculated perfidies, dethronements during the twelfth century is unending. In the general political demoralization even the most resolute and unscrupulous princes, a Zangī or a Takash, could scarcely keep their feet.

The other was the composition of their military forces. The foundation of each prince's power was a standing regiment of guards or *'askar* of Turkish *mamlūks*, consisting of Turkish slaves purchased in boyhood and trained as professional cavalrymen, freed in due course, and maintained by the grant of military fiefs, from which they drew their revenues in money and kind. The continual warfare between the principalities was carried on by these professional troops, whose intensely personal loyalty was given to their immediate commander, and who therefore followed

him into rebellion or changes of allegiance with little regard to the interests of their prince. Being professional armies, they were expensive to maintain and therefore small in numbers; one of the reasons for the constant efforts of princes to seize their neighbours' territories was precisely in order to gain the means of enlarging their forces. Furthermore, they could not and would not remain on campaign longer than a certain period at a time; on the one hand, the prince could not afford a high rate of wastage, and on the other the troops themselves, as soon as their period of campaign service (called in Arabic *baiḳār*) was over, had no thought but to return to enjoy the proceeds of their fiefs.[1] The Turcoman troops, though nomadic irregulars, were little different; they too went on campaign only for a limited time, for so long as they could subsist on plunder or were paid for their services in money and supplies.[2]

Nūr ad-Dīn, the son of a Turkish professional soldier, not only understood this system, but himself formed a part of it. Assuming his object to have been the creation of a centralized military power strong enough to deal with the Crusaders, rather than personal aggrandizement, nevertheless his military and political action conformed almost entirely to the practice of the time (even if at a higher moral level); while on the other hand his rivals and vassals accepted him as a natural representative of the system by reason of his family connections, and respected him because of the success with which he operated it, both as a diplomatist and as a commander of armies. Even his campaign of what we may call 'moral rearmament' by giving every support to the religious leaders and revivalists was not in any way unprecedented; indeed, it was on the basis and example of what had already been accomplished in this way in the Seljuk empire that Nūr ad-Dīn founded his own policy, and the most that can be

[1] This practice was dictated not only by personal considerations but also by sound economic reasons. The regular forces had to maintain themselves and their retainers on campaign with supplies and forage out of their own revenues, and a prolonged campaign involved them in considerable expense and even debt (cf. 'Imād ad-Dīn in Abū Shāma, i. 271 foot, and *Fatḥ* 392-3; Bahā ad-Dīn (ed. Schultens) 200, 221).

[2] Cf. Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), x. 400; 'Imād ad-Dīn, *Barq*, iii. 139*b*.

claimed for him is greater honesty and deeper sincerity than some of his predecessors in adopting it.

Nūr ad-Dīn, in fine, both as general and administrator, displayed an insight and a capacity which rose above the average of his time but without conflicting with the established system. There can be little doubt that, had he lived, and the temporary rift between him and Saladin been closed, the counter-attack on the Crusaders would have been quicker and more vigorously pressed than it actually proved to be. The fact of the rift with Saladin cannot be denied, but the causes of it are clear enough to anyone who studies the sources without the bias induced by Ibn al-Athīr's malicious interpretations. To Nūr ad-Dīn the conquest of Egypt meant only an immediate and substantial accretion of military and financial resources for the war in Syria ; whereas Saladin, faced with a dangerous situation in Egypt, felt that his first responsibility was to build up the local forces to hold Egypt against the threat of collusion between pro-Fāṭimid elements within and Frankish attacks from without. Presumably, after the failure of the Sicilian expedition to Alexandria in 1174 the general situation in Egypt would have been sufficiently stabilized to restore full understanding between Nūr ad-Dīn and Saladin, but even before it arrived Nūr ad-Dīn had died.

The immediate consequence of Nūr ad-Dīn's death was that the centralized military power which he had built up fell to pieces, under the normal operation of the politico-military system. His Mosul relations seized the Jazīra provinces, and his Syrian forces split up under the rivalries of the generals surrounding his minor son al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ. The whole task had to be begun again, and on a very different footing. Since there was no hope of finding a true successor to Nūr ad-Dīn among the members of the Zangid house, any attempt to revive Nūr ad-Dīn's structure, from whatever quarter it came, would have to begin by challenging the existing Zangid principalities ; and while its leader, if he were of the right type, might eventually hope to gain the support of the 'moral rearmament' movement, he would certainly be opposed by its representatives in the first instance, out of loyalty to the memory of Nūr ad-Dīn.

As these circumstances, therefore, made the task of reconstructing a centralized military power in Syria a different, and in some respects harder, task than had been faced by Nūr ad-Dīn, so also the methods and qualities of the man who undertook it would have to be different from those of Nūr ad-Dīn. It might not have been done at all; but if it was to be done, there were, so far as one can judge, only two alternative methods. One was the absorption of the whole Zangid structure into a powerful military empire from outside (such as, say, an expanded Seljuk Sultanate of Anatolia, or a new empire in the East, had either been possible at the time). The other was to build upon the foundations of moral unity laid by Nūr ad-Dīn, and so greatly strengthen them that the Zangid structure would be forced into the service of its ends. To purely outward appearances Saladin's way was the first; in reality, the secret of his success was that he adopted and carried through the second. To be sure, this involved the building up of a vast empire extending from Kurdistan and Diyār Bakr to Nubia and the Yemen; for whoso wills the end must will the means, and the circumstances of his task and time required nothing less than this. But Saladin's personal position and qualities, the spirit in which he approached his task, and the methods he employed were utterly different from those possessed and displayed by the founders of great military empires.

To begin with, Saladin was not a Turk but a Kurd. If the Turks, because of the sense of superiority bred in them by their military tradition and the all but universal monopolization of political power in Eastern Islam by Turkish princes, despised all the other Muslim races, those of Mosul and Northern Syria regarded their Kurdish neighbours with special contempt.[1] The Mosul troops, marching out against Saladin for the first time in 1175, had[2] abused and mocked him, calling him 'a dog that barks at his master'. Seventeen years later, a Mosul officer, as he watched Saladin being assisted on to his horse during the

[1] This is expressed vividly and with typical elaboration even by 'Imād ad-Dīn, who devotes more than a page to disparaging the unmilitary qualities of the Kurds in the Artuqid armies in contrast to the virtues and sobriety of Saladin's troops: *Barq*, v. 57*b* sq.

[2] If Michael the Syrian is to be believed: ed. and trans. Chabot, iii. 365.

defence of Jerusalem, is reported as saying : 'Have a care, son of Ayyūb, what sort of end you will come to—you who are helped to mount by a Seljuk prince and a descendant of Atābeg Zangī!'[1] The difference in tone between the two taunts may fairly enough represent the extent and the limits of the change of attitude towards him amongst the more race-conscious and the more resistant to the ideals for which he stood.

Secondly, although Saladin's father, uncle, brothers, and he himself were enrolled in Nūr ad-Dīn's feudal forces, he was far from outstanding as a general or a strategist. This may seem a paradox in the victor of Ḥaṭṭīn ; but Saladin was a good tactician. Ḥaṭṭīn, like his two early victories against the forces of Mosul, was won by good tactics, and these were his only successful battles in the open field. His most remarkable feat of arms was the capture of the reputedly impregnable fortress of Āmid (Diyārbakr) in 1183 after a siege of only three weeks, an episode generally overlooked in Western histories. It is remarkable how often lack of confidence in his generalship was expressed by the officers in his own armies, and not always without reason, even if valuable opportunities were sometimes lost during the Third Crusade by their opposition to his tactics and plans of campaign.

Nor was he a good administrator. He seems to have taken little personal interest in details of administration beyond trying to suppress abuses. In his own territories he leaned heavily on his brother al-'Ādil Saif ad-Dīn and his Secretary of State al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil ; the administration of the provinces was turned over entirely to their governors on two conditions, that they should follow his example in suppressing abuses and furnish him with troops (and if necessary with money) when he required them to do so for the Holy War.

The independent and concordant testimony furnished by the surviving documents of three of the men who stood closest to him, al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, 'Imād ad-Dīn and Bahā ad-Dīn, supply us with the real explanation of his success. Himself neither warrior nor governor by training or inclination, he it was who inspired and gathered round himself all the elements and forces making for

[1] Ibn al-Athīr, xii. 50.

the unity of Islām against the invaders. And this he did, not so much by the example of his personal courage and resolution—which were undeniable—as by his unselfishness, his humility and generosity, his moral vindication of Islām against both its enemies and its professed adherents. He was no simpleton, but for all that an utterly simple and transparently honest man. He baffled his enemies, internal and external, because they expected to find him animated by the same motives as they were, and playing the political game as they played it. Guileless himself, he never expected and seldom understood guile in others—a weakness of which his own family and others sometimes took advantage, but only (as a general rule) to come up at the end against his single-minded devotion, which nobody and nothing could bend, to the service of his ideals.

The true nature of those ideals has not yet (in my opinion) been appreciated. The immediate task to which he found himself called was to drive the Franks out of Palestine and Syria. This was the part that his contemporaries saw, and that later generations assumed to have been his whole purpose. It is natural, when a man accomplishes some great work, to imagine that this was what he had set as his goal. In reality, it is more often the case that what a man achieves is only a part of what he sets out to achieve ; and perhaps it is only because his eyes are fixed on some more distant goal that he succeeds in doing as much as he does.

This was, in my view, eminently true of Saladin. His wider design was one which only a man of unbounded ambition or of unbounded simplicity would have entertained. In a certain sense, Saladin was both, but his ambition arose out of the simplicity of his character and the directness of his vision. He saw clearly that the weakness of the Muslim body-politic, which had permitted the establishment and continued to permit the survival of the Crusading states, was the result of political demoralization. It was against this that he revolted. There was only one way to end it : to restore and revive the political fabric of Islām as a single united empire, not under his own rule, but by restoring the rule of the Revealed Law, under the direction of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate. The theory of the Caliph's disposal

of provinces by diploma, to the other princes of the time a convenient fiction, was to him a positive and necessary reality. He saw himself as simply the adjutant and commander of the armies of the 'Abbāsids, as he had become for a brief time the wazīr and commander of the armies of the Fāṭimid Caliphs. That he was called *sulṭān* was simply the title he had inherited as wazīr of the Fāṭimids; it had nothing to do with the theory or claims of the Seljuk sultanate, and it never appears in his protocol or on his coins. 'Imād ad-Dīn relates an incident during the siege of Acre, which is particularly instructive because it is one of the occasions on which the secretary reproaches Saladin for his simplicity.[1] At the request of an envoy from the Caliphate, he had consented to transfer the region of Shahrazūr in Kurdistan to the Caliph's possession; when faced with the anger and scorn of his amirs at this decision, he replied: 'The Caliph is the lord of mankind and the repository of the True Faith; if he were to join us here I should give him all these lands—so what of Shahrazūr?'

But the argument does not rest on an incidental episode of this kind, however authentic it may be. This objective is the explicit theme of many of his despatches to Baghdād. 'These three aims—*jihād* on the Path of God, the restraining of actions hurtful to the servants of God, and submission to the Caliph of God—are the sole desire of this servitor from the territories in his occupation and his sole gain from the worldly power granted to him. God is his witness that . . . he has no desire beyond these things and no aim beyond this aim.'[2] It reappears in his bewilderment at the failure of the Caliph and the Caliph's officers at Baghdād to understand his motives and to give him at least moral support: 'For let him consider, is there anyone else of the governors of Islām whose increase distresses the infidels?'[3] in the punctiliousness with which he supplicates for the Caliph's diploma of investiture before operating in new territories, and his protests against the Zangids' claims to the Jazīra on grounds of 'inheritance' in default of a diploma, and their seizure of

[1] *Fatḥ* (ed. Landberg), 218-19.
[2] From Abū Shāma, ii. 48, after the occupation of Aleppo.
[3] From Abū Shāma, ii. 41, after the capture of Āmid.

Aleppo ;[1] in his attribution of the speedy capture of Āmid to the influence of the Caliph's authority ;[2] and in his forthright message to sultan Qilij Arslān of Anatolia in 1178 that 'he would not permit mutual warfare among Muslim princes instead of their uniting in the *jihād*'.[3]

At the same time his idealism was yoked with a strong practical sense. The clarity with which he judged each step towards his objective and each situation as it arose supplies the clue to the steady expansion of his power. Knowing that the problem which he faced was not only political, but also or still more a moral and psychological one, and that to attack it merely on the political and military plane would fail to solve it, he realized that to gain effective results it was essential to cement political allegiance by moral and psychological stimulants and deterrents. The difficulty—even the apparent hopelessness—of this task in the circumstances of the time are evident, but Saladin found ways to meet it, often to the bewilderment or astonishment of his friends and counsellors.

In dealing with the princes, whether friends or enemies, his first principle was sincerity and absolute loyalty to his word. Even with the Crusaders a truce was a truce. There is no instance on record in which he broke faith with them, and to those who broke faith with him he was implacable, as Reginald of Chatillon and the Templars were to learn. Towards his Muslim rivals he supplemented loyalty with generosity. After the pact with al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ in 1176 (and the famous incident of the return of 'Azāz), he left Aleppo alone until aṣ-Ṣāliḥ's death, although he held the Caliph's diploma for it.[4] The siege of Āmid was undertaken because he had promised it to the Artuqid prince of Ḥiṣn Kaifā as the price of his alliance, and after capturing it he turned over all its immense treasures to his ally as

[1] Cf. Abū Shāma, ii. 24, 31 n. It might be claimed, and with truth, that such passages could be paralleled in the artificial correspondence of other princes with the Caliphate. But it would be utterly inconsistent with all that we know of the character of Saladin to regard them as equally hypocritical ; and if it all meant nothing more to him than mere playing with words, why should he have kept up such a stream of entreaties and expostulations to Baghdād ?

[2] Abū Shāma, ii. 40-41.

[3] *Barq*, iii. fol. 123*a*.

[4] Abū Shāma, ii. 34.

they stood—an act of loyalty to his pledged word so unprecedented that it created a sensation.[1]

To achieve his object, however, he had to reinforce his own actions and example by creating a moral and psychological current in his favour so strong that it could not be resisted. For this he needed allies, and especially the influential class of 'college-men' who were the leaders of public opinion. This was one of his most serious difficulties since, as already noted, these were precisely the sections which Nūr ad-Dīn had mobilized in his support. Since Saladin at first appeared to be a usurper who challenged the heirs of Nūr ad-Dīn, they, with the people of Syria generally, were in the beginning opposed, or at least reserved, towards him. The Arabic sources give us little indication of the gradual change in their attitude, but that his sincerity finally gained their respect and admiration is amply evident, both from the chronicles and from the reports of other contemporaries.[2] His patronage of the ṣūfīs, again following the example of Nūr ad-Dīn, was probably of particular importance for this 'missionary' work, if the term may be used, among the population of Syria. The most effective appeal to the general population, however, was probably made by his insistence upon the removal of wrongful dues and burdens in all territories under his government and suzerainty, even if it is by no means certain that his subordinates were always prompt to carry out his instructions on this point. Finally, it is remarkable that the turbulent Shi'ites of Aleppo and northern Syria, who had remained unreconciled to Nūr ad-Dīn, not only gave Saladin no trouble (after the early Assassin attempts on his life) but positively assisted him during the reconquest.[3]

The Secretary 'Imād ad-Dīn supplies a striking example of this aspect of Saladin's diplomacy,[4] on an occasion when the

[1] So consistent was his conduct in this respect, and so frightening to his enemies, that it was necessary to invent an incident to offset it, which is duly recorded (with a great show of impartiality) by Ibn al-Athīr (xi. 341 ; see 'Arabic Sources', *Speculum*, xxv, 67-8).

[2] See Ibn Jubair, *Riḥla*, pp. 297-8 ; 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī in Ibn Abī Usaibi'a, *'Uyūn al-Anbā'*, ii. 206 (both translated in *R.H.C.Or.*, iii. 435 sqq.).

[3] C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades*, Paris 1940, pp. 428-9.

[4] *Barq*, v. foll. 129 sqq.

Zangid atābek of Mosul and his advisors attempted to take advantage of his loyalty to the Caliphate, by requesting the Caliph's *diwān* to send the Shaikh ash-Shuyūkh of Baghdād to intercede with Saladin in 1184, 'because of their knowledge that we had no thought of anything but implicit obedience to the command that should be obeyed' (i.e. of the Caliphate). Although the conduct of the envoy from Mosul made an accommodation next to impossible, Saladin finally placed himself unreservedly in the hands of the Shaikh ash-Shuyūkh, only to be repulsed again by the envoy, who openly threatened an alliance between Mosul and the Caliph's enemy, the Seljuk sultan of Persia, Tughril II. It was this, adds 'Imād ad-Dīn, which determined Saladin, who had hitherto been lukewarm in prosecuting the conflict with Mosul, to deal with it firmly. That 'Imād ad-Dīn's account is not exaggerated is proved by the fact that Saladin's conduct on this occasion was the starting-point of his friendship with the qāḍī Bahā ad-Dīn, who was himself in the suite of the Mosul envoy and in his narrative confirms the main points of this statement.[1]

Apart from the capture of Āmid (and perhaps even there as well), in fact, the extension of Saladin's empire in Asia between 1182 and 1186 was due far more to the influence of these factors than to military action. His campaigns before Mosul and Aleppo were demonstrations rather than sieges. The lesser princes of the Jazīra, confident in the character of the man, voluntarily placed themselves under his protection. The leaders of Nūr ad-Dīn's regiment at Aleppo, after little more than a show of battle,[2] came over *en masse* to give him the most loyal service. Even at Mosul, as Ibn al-Athīr himself conveys in his narrative,[3] Saladin found supporters among the commanders, and it was they who eventually forced the Zangid atabek to yield in 1186. The extent of the influence exerted by the *fuqahā* over the troops should not perhaps be exaggerated; but there are several examples in our sources of their decisive intervention, and they

[1] Ed. Schultens, p. 57.

[2] 'Imād ad-Dīn, *Barq*, v. 79*b* sqq. (Abu Shāma, ii. 43-4).

[3] Ed. Tornberg, xi. 338, 340. See also the significant incident of the garrison of Ḥarim (quoted by Grousset, ii. 720).

certainly counted as a contributory factor. The most remarkable case of all is that of the powerful Shāh-Arman of Khilāṭ, who had been among the most tenacious of Saladin's adversaries but who, just before the end of the Third Crusade, voluntarily offered Saladin his allegiance and his troops.[1]

How much Saladin's reputation for absolute faithfulness to his word and generosity contributed to the recovery of Palestine and Inner Syria during the year and a half that followed Ḥaṭṭīn is well known. If it had been necessary to take every castle and fortified town by regular siege, not more than a tithe of them would have fallen before the opening of the Third Crusade, and the history of that Crusade would have been very different if the Crusaders had had the support of garrisons in Saladin's rear.

The stability of Saladin's structure was destined to be tried to the utmost limit by the Third Crusade. It was to prove a contest of a kind which he had never anticipated and for which he had made no preparations. Instead of pursuing his noble, if idealist, dream of restoring the reign of Law in the Islamic world he was involved in a struggle of the most painful actuality; but because he had sought to realize the former by unselfishness, justice and loyalty, and only because of these moral foundations, he was able to sustain the unprecedented task now thrust upon him. No Muslim prince had for centuries been confronted with the problem of maintaining an army continuously in the field for three years against an active and enterprising enemy. The military feudal system was entirely inadequate to such a campaign, even if it was possible to organize a limited system of reliefs between the Egyptian and the Mesopotamian regiments.

The contest uncovered one by one the material and even moral weaknesses in Saladin's empire which had remained concealed during the era of victory He had never cared for money or for prudent management of his revenues. He had 'spent the revenues of Egypt to gain Syria, the revenues of Syria to gain Mesopotamia, those of Mesopotamia to conquer Palestine',[2] and now found himself without adequate resources to meet the cost of weapons, food, forage, equipment, and the pay of the auxiliary

[1] Bahā ad-Dīn, 260.
[2] Al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil in Abū Shāma, ii. 177.

troops. In consequence, he could do little to ease the difficulties of the feudal troops, who were either forced into debt or into pressing their cultivators.[1] Perhaps this, even more than the survival of old rancours, may explain the reluctance of some of the Eastern contingents to sustain their part in the campaign. In addition, all the military equipment from Egypt and Syria had been locked up in Acre,[2] which Saladin had refortified as his main base for future operations ; the siege and loss of Acre therefore seriously crippled the offensive power of the Muslim army.

Apart from this, however, the tactics and fighting traditions of the regular troops were baffled by the fortified trenches of the Crusading besiegers. In open fighting on the plain against the Western knights the Turkish regulars more than held their own, although Saladin's Kurdish guards proved less stable (as again at Arsūf). But when repeated success in the open field proved to be of no effect whatsoever in relieving the pressure on Acre, it was a natural reaction to slacken effort and to grumble against Saladin. Once it had started, grumbling became a habit and developed into criticism and opposition, especially in the later period of the campaign, when the fall of Acre seemed to have proved the weakness of Saladin's military leadership.

Yet this was after all a minor matter in comparison with the damage inflicted on Saladin and on the whole cause for which he stood by his own kinsmen. Here, if anywhere, was his most vulnerable point. The scarcely concealed appetites of several of his brothers and other relatives [3] had caused him much trouble in the past, but had been brought more or less under control. But at the very climax of his struggle with the Crusaders his nephew Taqī ad-Dīn deliberately disobeyed his orders in Diyār Bakr, and by his disobedience opened up a series of conflicts and mutinies which grievously disabled Saladin during the campaign in Palestine after the fall of Acre. Not only did they involve the absence of Taqī ad-Dīn's own troops and those of Diyār Bakr during the rest of the active fighting, but they led to further rifts

[1] Abū Shāma, ii. 177, 178, 203 ; *Fatḥ*, 207, 392-3, 443 ; Bahā ad-Dīn, 200, 221, etc. [2] Bahā ad-Dīn, 174.

[3] Vividly portrayed by al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil in a letter quoted by Abū Shāma, ii. 178.

within his family and to dissensions amongst his overstrained personal troops during the last crucial months.

These were the factors which robbed Saladin of the chance of complete victory in his struggle with Richard. But they only throw into stronger relief the most surprising and significant feature of the whole campaign—that year after year the Mosul contingents returned for active service, even if they sometimes lingered on the way. In the circumstances, there could have been no question of physical compulsion, nor could Saladin have restrained them (as the episode of Taqī ad-Dīn proves) from reoccupying the Jazīra, as in fact they attempted to do immediately after his death. There can be no explanation of this except that the feeling of personal loyalty to Saladin, even in Mosul, was strong enough to overcome the reluctance or resistance of individuals. His own modestly-phrased remark to Bahā ad-Dīn: 'If I were to die, it is very unlikely that these *'askars* would ever come together again',[1] sums up the real nature of his achievement. For a brief but decisive moment, by sheer goodness and firmness of character, he raised Islām out of the rut of political demoralization. By standing out for a moral ideal, and expressing that ideal in his own life and action, he created around him an impulse to unity which, though never quite complete, sufficed to meet the unforeseen challenge flung down to him by destiny.

[1] Bahā ad-Dīn, 218.

DAS LIED VOM HÜRNEN SEYFRID: THE PRINTERS AND ORTHOGRAPHY OF A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY GERMAN TEXT

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THE problems I propose to deal with in this article are those with which I found myself faced when I had to decide on the orthography to adopt in the critical edition of a German poem which I am preparing. The question of the origin of the poem is difficult and complicated and will be fully dealt with in the introduction to my edition; what I am concerned with here is the form in which it has come down to us, namely in prints ranging over a period of roughly 100 years, of which the first can probably be dated in the 1520s and the last is of 1642. No manuscript has been discovered.

I might first be permitted to state briefly the salient features of the poem itself. Since the first critical edition [1] it has normally been known as the *Lied vom hürnen Seyfrid*. Although of little or no literary value, it is of great interest to the student of medieval German literature in general and to the student of the stories of Siegfried and the Nibelungs in particular, for it contains matter entirely unknown to our principal source for these stories, the *Nibelungenlied*, and deals more fully with other features only briefly touched on there. There Siegfried is the mature hero who becomes involved in an intrigue and falls a victim to it. In the *Lied vom hürnen Seyfrid* we read of his more youthful adventures: how he killed a dragon and acquired a horny skin, and how, after struggles with a giant and another dragon, he freed a maiden in distress. Its closing strophes deal in summary fashion with Siegfried's death. It contains 179 four double-line strophes, in the 'Hiltebrandes thon', a variation of the strophe in which the *Nibelungenlied* itself is written.

[1] *Das Lied vom hürnen Seyfrid nach der Druckredaktion, herausgegeben von Wolfgang Golther*, Halle, 1889.

The poem appears to have been frequently printed: ten complete, or nearly complete, copies—all with their particular variants—are known to have survived, and four pages from an eleventh. Others we know from bibliographical references; others again are required by the stemma. There is in addition a Czech version, printed in Prague in 1615. These editions come from widely separated parts of the German speaking area: Hamburg, Leipzig, Nürnberg, Straßburg, Frankfurt am Main, Basel, Bern. These ten prints fall into three main groups. I do not propose to amplify this statement here to any extent, for it would involve a detailed examination of the texts from another point of view than that with which I am concerned at present. My determination of the relationship of the prints and the construction of the stemma has been done entirely on the basis of textual variants; and I am still, after the examination of the prints from different points of view, of the opinion that other criteria are less reliable. Max Herrmann[1] made use of the evidence of the wood-cuts, but, as I hope to show, this can be no more than corroborative of the textual evidence. Herrmann's error lay, as I see it, in attempting to use artistic criteria in the evaluation of wood-cut evidence—e.g. greater or less degree of refinement in drawing, and influences. That I regard as completely unreliable. What can be important is whether the same blocks are used in more than one print, and, most important of all, the placing of the wood-cuts within the pages. Herrmann in the same article dismissed the possibility of using orthographical evidence for the construction of the stemma; I agree with this, but I nevertheless think that there are a few such features which may, with reserve, also be used as corroborative evidence, and I shall later adduce a few examples in support of this. As far as the actual classification of the prints is concerned I will limit myself to saying that it is apparent that none of those extant is the original from which all the others are descended; that all are so related that it can scarcely be doubted that all come, ultimately, from one common source, not far removed in time from the earliest extant print; that, as above, they fall into three main groups.

[1] *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, xlvi. 61 ff.

In the main the principles employed for classifying medieval manuscripts can be applied in the case of sixteenth-century prints; but there must be modifications. In the first place the possibilities of contamination are much greater. We do not know enough about the transmission of medieval manuscripts to be able to say how many copies may have been made, for example by dictation, from one manuscript; but we do know that there may have been anything up to about 1,600 copies issued of one edition of a print.[1] In the second place, although I would not wish to over-emphasize the conscientiousness and reliability of scribes, there is evidence that not all sixteenth-century printers were as scholarly as their predecessors in their craft had been. We know, for example, how Amerbach went to pains to print the best possible text, using other manuscripts to correct his model where necessary;[2] for the other side of the picture we have the evidence, also adduced by Faulmann, of how others, with no technical qualifications, turned their hands to the craft because it appeared to them to be a lucrative occupation. He quotes,[3] in not always quite accurately modernized German, from the autobiography of Dr. Thomas Platter of Basel (1499 to 1582) a passage to illustrate the social position of the printer of the sixteenth century and his attitude to his work. Platter says he was attracted by the example of others, who as printers acquired great wealth with little effort. He set up in this business with others, forming a group of four men, of whom one knew nothing at all about printing, and two were scholars with no practical knowledge of the craft; in spite of their lack of experience they bring the concern to an end after a few years, at least without sustaining a loss. Particularly illustrative of the ulterior motives is the account of how Ruprecht Winter was induced to join the group by his wife, who, seeing the luxury in which printers' wives lived, wished to become one herself.[4]

[1] See K. Faulmann, *Illustrierte Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst*, Wien, Pest, Leipzig, 1882, pp. 321 and 336.

[2] K. Schottenloher, *Der Buchdrucker als neuer Berufsstand des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, Mainz, 1935, p. 20.

[3] *Op. cit.* pp. 325 ff.

[4] The most delightful passage reads in the original as follows: 'do ich aber gsach wie Hervagius und andre trukerherren ein gůtte sach hatten, mit wenig arbeit groß gůt gewunnent, dacht ich, moͤcht ich ouch ein trukerherr werden . . .

This, I think, is of prime importance for our problem. We are dealing with business men who are not primarily scholars. There is evidence that not all are competent tradesmen, and that there is not always adequate scholarly supervision.[1] This will probably have the effect of producing more aberrant readings in transmission than arose by the earlier manuscript methods ; and the vastly larger numbers of copies produced will greatly increase the chances of contamination. Nevertheless it is still possible, by the use of ingenuity in comparing readings to separate that which is purely carelessness on the part of the printer from a genuine variant reading, and to produce a reliable critical text.

But can the same be said of the actual spelling of that critical text ? Here the possibilities for ' individuality ' are greater, and the check less. As I see it, there are three possibilities open to the editor. These I will first consider from the point of view of principle, then later subject them to the test of the extant prints of our particular poem.

The first possibility would be to adopt a normalized spelling, as has been the usual practice with works of Middle High German literature. Whether there did exist in classical, or any other, Middle High German times a standard literary language is still a debatable point ; and so the adoption, in the editions of these works, of standard forms and spellings is a procedure which cannot be ruled out as one which would reproduce a textual picture which never existed. There is, however, no doubt about whether there existed a standard Early New High German language which may have been adopted for literary, or other, purposes : there certainly was not one. The detailed account of the manifold variations of the forms and spellings of the language in the period in question is set forth in Virgil Moser's *Frühneuhochdeutsche Grammatik*.[2] Of the utmost importance for our particular

do was Růprecht Winter, des Oporini schwager, der hatt ein frowen, die wolt ouch gären ein trukerherren frow gsin, gsach wie die trukerherren wiber so ein pracht triben, an welchem iren gar nůtz brast, dan sy hat gůtz gnůg, můtz nur zvill ' (*Thomas und Felix Platter, Zur Sittengeschichte des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, bearbeitet von Heinrich Boos, Leipzig, 1878, p. 88).

[1] Cf. Faulmann, *op. cit.* p. 331 : ' Die Folgen der mangelhaften Ausbildung der Setzer und ihrer mangelhaften Kenntnisse waren dann zahllose Druckfehler '.

[2] Vol. I, 1st half, Heidelberg, 1929, and Vol. III, 3rd part, Heidelberg, 1951. Cf. particularly the introduction.

problem is the recognition of the freedom with which printing presses, through their proof-readers, adopted spellings which they favoured.[1]

The second possibility, of producing a ‘ critical ’ spelling, in the way one produces a critical text, on the basis of the stemma, can scarcely—in principle—be separated from the first possibility, for it depends on a necessary minimum degree of conservatism and fidelity to an original on the part of the printers. Knowing, as we do, that printers did not always feel that compulsion, we can have no confidence that the spelling in one of the works issuing from their press gives any reliable indication of the spelling of the source.

The third possibility is to reproduce the spelling of one print ; and this is in fact the choice made by Golther in his edition of the poem. This method, too, is open to the same objections as the first two : we can have no assurance that any one print, even the oldest, with any fidelity reproduces the spelling of the original print we are seeking to reconstruct.

These then are, as I see it, the three courses open to an editor. I shall now proceed to examine the prints of the poem I am concerned with to see how these possibilities can be applied in practice. I shall do this in two stages : first I shall discuss the external appearance of the prints and examine what is known of the individual printers themselves, and the relation of print to print and, where applicable, printer to printer. Secondly, I shall examine the spellings of certain selected words and the rendering of certain selected sounds in these prints.

[1] Moser, Vol. I, Einleitung, Anm. 4 : ‘ Infolge der sich seit Beginn des 16. Jhs. immer weiter ausdehnenden Drucktätigkeit geht die Führung in der schriftsprachlichen Bewegung besonders seit dem zweiten Viertel fast ausschließlich an die Druckersprachen über, während die viel konservativern handschriftlichen Aufzeichnungen durchschnittlich ein viertel bis ein halbes Jh. hinter diesen zurückbleiben. Seit dieser Zeit bilden sich auch in den großen Offizinen sog. (an die ortsübliche Druckersprache sich anschließende) Hausorthographien aus (so bei dem Luther-Drucker Lufft in Wittenberg), deren Durchführung den (meist hochgebildeten) Korrektoren (bei Lufft Rörer u.a.) obliegt und nach denen das Druckmanuskript bei dem meist passiven Verhalten der Schriftsteller mehr oder minder umgemodelt wird.’

I

Of the three main groups into which, on textual grounds, the prints fall, the first is formed by the two prints from Nürnberg and the one from Hamburg. The last is a translation into Low German and is therefore too far removed from the original language to play any part in a discussion of orthography. Textually, too, it is of little importance for it is clearly derived from the Nürnberg prints. Neither of these is dated, but they both bear the name of the printer, namely (*a*) Kunegund Hergotin and (*b*) Georg Wachter, and the town, thus leaving to be solved the problem of their absolute, or, failing that, relative dating.

It has usually been assumed that the Hergotin print is the older,[1] presumably on the evidence of what was known about the printers themselves. This evidence is carefully examined by O. Clemen in his short introduction to the facsimile edition which was made in 1911 of the recently rediscovered Hergotin print,[2] and points to the priority of the Hergotin print; Clemen points out that the impress 'gedruckt durch Kunegunde Hergotin' can mean one of three things: printed by her while her husband was still alive but unable to print, between about 1524 and Hergot's death; secondly, printed by her after her husband's death while she carried on the business independently, to perhaps 1528; thirdly, printed over her name, but after her marriage to Georg Wachter. And finally he admits that the two names may well mean perhaps the same thing: Kunegund Hergotin and Georg Wachter being alternative names for the same press.[3]

[1] Cf. W. Golther, *Das Lied vom hürnen Seyfrid*, 2nd ed., 1191, p. v.

[2] Zwickauer Facsimiledrucke, No. 6.

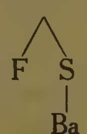
[3] Further details of these family affairs are set out in two of the sources Clemen used: K. Schottenloher, *Die Entwicklung der Buchdruckerkunst in Franken bis 1530*, Würzburg, 1910, pp. 41 f., and *Archiv für Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*, vi. 253. The information is now summarized in Josef Benzing's *Buchdruckerlexikon des 16. Jahrhunderts* (*deutsches Sprachgebiet*), Frankfurt a/M., 1952. In this work Hergot is entered as printing from 1524 to 1527 and 'am 20. 5. 1527 öffentlich . . . hingerichtet'. Further: 'Seine Frau Kunigunde, die ihn auch vorher schon während seiner zahlreichen Reisen in der Werkstatt vertreten hatte, setzte die Druckerei unter ihrem Namen bis 1538 fort, obwohl sie bald nach dem Tode ihres Mannes den Drucker Georg Wachter geheiratet hatte.' Georg Wachter is entered as printing from 1526 to 1547.

The external appearance of the two prints is almost identical: the types are the same, the page and line arrangement is the same—with the exception of the omission of the two words 'der hürnen' in the twentieth wood-cut heading in the Hergotin print. Further, the arrangement of the wood-cuts in each page is identical, and the cuts themselves are the same. At first sight one would say that in both prints they were impressed from the same blocks. One knows [1] that copying of another printer's illustrations was common enough, even to the extent of such details that close examination fails at first to show that they were not printed from the same block. There is, in fact, such a case—although not an extreme one—in point among the *Hürnen Seyfrid* prints, which I will refer to later. In spite of this I would still maintain that for our two Nürnberg prints the same blocks were used. I have examined side by side the facsimile edition of the Hergotin print (which I call K) and a projection in a microfilm reader of a film of the Wachter (N); sufficiently exact comparison of size by that method is not possible, nor is it, I think, necessary in this case. For not only are all the pictures themselves to all appearances identical, but even imperfections in the black border lines, such as slight notches out of some of them, or not quite exact closing of the corners, are exactly identical in both. I would venture to say that the first impression is confirmed and that in fact the same blocks were used for both prints. But the resemblance of the prints goes even further than this: as I have stated before, the types are the same in both, and the layout and content of each page are identical. Further, biographical evidence shows that the two names are probably nothing more than alternative names for the same firm, and, with the exception of one small, but significant, textual variant, the texts too are identical. But there are differences between the prints; these differences are, as Clemen noticed, 'mainly orthographical'. These orthographical differences, as I shall show in detail later, are not inconsiderable. Is there enough evidence here for us to

[1] Johannes Luther, 'Ideendiebstahl in dem dekorativen Bücherschmuck der Reformationszeit', in *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, Erster Jahrgang, Zweiter Band (1897/98), pp. 463 ff., where there are also a number of reproductions illustrating the point.

attempt a relative dating? If there were no other criteria, one would have to attempt this on the basis of these orthographical variants. Fortunately in this case we do not have to rely on these very unreliable criteria: the one variant reading referred to establishes, I maintain, beyond doubt, the priority of the Hergotin print, thus bearing out the external evidence adduced above. I think it may be sufficient if I confine myself here to this bare statement: the feature is fully dealt with in the appropriate place in the introduction to my edition. We are dealing here with two editions from the same firm, of which the second differs from the first by one 'correction' of an obscurity (the textual variant) and a considerable alteration in spelling.

Two other branches of the tradition have prints which stand in a relationship to one another similar in nature to that between the two Nürnberg prints, but the connection is less close. The first of these branches contains three prints: one printed by Weygandt Han at Frankfurt am Main (F), at a date not before 1555, in which year he began to print;[1] the second, printed by Thiebolt Berger at Straßburg (which I call S) in 1563; and the third by Johann Schröter at Basel (Ba) in 1592 or 1594.[2] Textual evidence, which, as with the other prints, I deal with fully in the introduction to my edition, shows the relationship of the prints to be as follows:



For our present purpose it is really only the Straßburg and Basel prints which will have to be considered, for it is they which, like K and N, are in a direct line of descent, although an occasional reference to that of Weygandt Han can be helpful. Although the relationship between these two is similar in kind to that of the two Nürnberg prints, the degree of closeness is incomparably

[1] Cf. E. Steinmeyer, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, v. 105.

[2] At the bottom of the title-page is the date 1592. On the final sheet of the book as it at present appears (the intervening sheets containing the last 34 strophes of the poem are lacking) is printed: 'Getruckt zu Basel bey Johan Schröter. 1594.'

less: there is a difference in time of about thirty years, as well as a geographical difference of many miles.

The textual evidence of the dependence of Ba on S is supported by the external appearance of both books. The poem runs in S to sixty pages, not including the title-page; and the page arrangement of Ba—only the first 145 strophes are preserved—is in most cases identical. The greatest differences are at the beginning, in connection with the choice and placing of the wood-cuts within the pages. Taking the actual text first, one finds that the contents of each double opening are identical throughout: from the first word on the left-hand page to the last one on the right. And in only two instances are the contents of each page not exactly the same: in one instance there are in Ba two more lines on the left-hand page, with correspondingly two fewer on the right, and in the other Ba has one more line on the left-hand page. This is the last page of text that is preserved in Ba. The one substantial difference is on the first two double openings of the book, i.e. pages two and three, and four and five, particularly on the second double opening. The detail of the arrangement of the relevant pages is complicated, but the general picture can be briefly stated. The first text-page of the book, containing the first four strophes of the poem, has neither wood-cuts nor headings. The next four pages (the first two double openings) should have five wood-cuts and the appropriate headings.[1] S has deviated from this arrangement and omits one of the cuts, and one heading (albeit the wrong one), thus giving a more symmetrical and less crowded appearance to the second double opening, which had had three wood-cuts crowded into it. The mistake in the omission of the heading is more understandable than the words 'wrong' and 'mistake', if used unqualified, would imply. In the normal arrangement headings four and five overlap: no. 4 mentions two separate actions, and no. 5 one (the second) of these; of the wood-cuts themselves, no. 4 represents the first action, and no. 5 the second. The Straßburg printer's

[1] The statement that there should be five wood-cuts is based on the evidence of the other prints. That which in the other prints is the sixth wood-cut is at the top of page six in S, which would have made it necessary for S to crowd five wood-cuts into the two openings (which is what F did).

mistake consists in using the standard no. 4 heading, but the standard no. 5 picture. Schröter, of Basel, has copied the general plan, but has differed in detail: he has kept standard 4 and 5 headings and wood-cuts, but in order to keep the arrangement of only one wood-cut to a page he has omitted a different wood-cut (standard no. 2) but has kept the heading.

I hope this does not appear to be too much of a digression from the real theme, which is orthography, but I have dealt with this aspect in some detail because I think it is important from the point of view of the methods of the printers and their attitude to their models. We have already seen how in the case of the two Nürnberg prints the second printer kept closely to his original, in fact exactly so in the lay-out of his pages. That was perhaps as might be expected when one considers that the two prints can be regarded as two editions from the same firm, which had, however, changed its name. In the case of the Straßburg and Basel prints there is a long lapse of time and a great distance, and, as far as I know, no particular connection between the two houses of Schröter and Berger. It is, nevertheless, by no means improbable that some such contact existed, for there is plenty of evidence of movements of printers in this area. For example, Paul Heitz tells us [1] that Matthias Apiarius was known to be in Basel in 1525—having come from Nürnberg—that he was printing in Straßburg between 1533 and 1536, and that he went in 1537 to Bern 'wo er die Buchdruckerei einführte, auch als Buchhändler und Buchbinder tätig war'. Secondly Adolf Fluri [2] mentions the complications caused in Switzerland by the printing, on 9 January 1564, by Diebold Berger of a lampoon on the defeat of the Swiss in a recent battle.

Whether or no there was any particular connection between the two houses, there is a correspondence in the lay-out of the two prints almost as exact as in the case of the two Nürnberg prints. The textual criteria, as I have already indicated, establish with certainty the descent of the Basel print from the

[1] *Basler Büchermarken bis zum Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Straßburg, 1895, p. xxviii.

[2] 'Die Brüder Samuel und Sigfrid Apiarius, Buchdrucker in Bern (1554-65)' in *Neues Berner Taschenbuch auf das Jahr 1898*, p. 189.

Straßburg one; the examination of the arrangement of the pages shows that Schröter of Basel must have had a copy of the earlier print open in front of him as he set up the type.

There is one very important feature in which the two prints do not correspond: the pictures themselves are entirely different. The question of the wood-cuts has been examined by Max Herrmann:[1] he points out with reference to Ba the lack of uniformity of execution, and the fact that two pictures are used twice, without regard for their suitability; he points out further that ten of the pictures are the same as those of another print of this poem, done by Sigfrid Apiarius in Bern in 1561, and that they were printed from the same blocks. I am dependent on Herrmann's statement that this is so—and that they are not very close copies—for the Bern print was sent for safe keeping during the war into what is now Poland and I have not been able to trace it.[2] In the circumstances it seems likely, for if the similar pictures were imitations, there seems to be no reason why only ten should be so treated and not all. Herrmann states: 'der Basler Schröter hat also zu erwerben versucht, was bei Apiarius noch vorhanden war'. I have subsequently been able to substantiate this indebtedness by information to which the staff of the University Library at Basel very kindly drew my attention. This is contained principally in two articles and in the unpublished *Basler Drucker- und Verlegerkatalog* of Dr. Rudolf Bernouilli. The first of these articles gives us biographical information based on the parish registers of the churches of St. Leonhard and St. Peter, that Johann Schröter on 6 December 1591 married the widow of Samuel Apiarius 'so daß Schröter durch seine Heirat in das weiland Apiariussche Geschäft kam. Eine Spur deutet darauf, daß Schröter schon 1592 unter eigenem Namen druckte, sicher fand ich das aber erst 1594'.[3] In the next volume (p. 44) of the same periodical Koegler adduces further

[1] *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, xlvi. 61-76.

[2] For this information I am indebted to the Director of the Auskunftsabteilung of the Öffentliche Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek in Berlin, in which library the print was before the war.

[3] Hans Koegler, 'Die Schrötersche Druckerei in Basel 1594 bis 1635' in *Anzeiger für schweizerische Altertumskunde*, Neue Folge, Band XXI (1919), pp. 222 f.

information on Schröter's indebtedness to Apiarius: '... fühlte sich Schröter eigentlich heimisch in den ausgesprochenen Meß- und Jahrmarktschriften der Kalender, Schauspiele und Lieder, vor allem alter Schlachtenlieder, sowie der Volksbücher im engsten Sinn wie Herzog Ernst und hürnen Siegfried. Dies war die von seinem Vorgänger Samuel Apiarius überlieferte Richtung, für die "gering Druckerwerk", wie er sich selbst ausdrückt, hatte er das Rüstzeug an Texten und Holzschnitten reichlich vorrätig.' Schröter printed *Herzog Ernst* in 1610. And again, on page 55: 'Der Holzschnittvorrat endlich, der in Schröters Drucken zur Verwendung kommt, ist nur zum kleinen Teil ursprünglich, die Menge ist aus Beständen anderer Offizinen übernommen'.

I have—in quotation—referred to 'Apiarius' and 'Apiariussche Geschäft', as well as to Sigfrid and Samuel and Matthias Apiarius separately. A more detailed account of the relation and activities of the three members of the family may be helpful. Matthias (who introduced printing into Bern) died in September 1554. The printing press passed to his eldest son, Samuel, while Sigfrid took over the bindery.[1] Sigfrid, however, did print a few books,[2] including the *Hürnen Seyfrid*. The wording 'seinem Vorgänger Samuel Apiarius' may therefore sometimes include the brother Sigfrid and the father Matthias. Further evidence that Sigfrid may be included is available on purely technical grounds: there is in the University Library at Basel a book, to which Dr. A. Pfister drew my attention, printed by Sigfrid (Bern 1561), entitled 'Ein hübsch Christlich Lied . . .' in which the word *Maria* corresponds exactly to the same word in Schröter's printing. Finally, the 'wappenartige Verzierung' which Golther mentions as appearing on the final sheet of Schröter's print[3] is in fact the printer's mark which was used by Matthias in 1546 and 1549.[4]

The result of this evidence for the method employed by Schröter in his print of the *Lied vom hürnen Seyfrid* is that he was just as dependent upon a model as had been Georg Wachter in Nürnberg fifty or sixty years earlier. Wachter had had the

[1] A. Fluri, *op. cit.* p. 168. [2] Fluri, *op. cit.* p. 208.
[3] *Op. cit.* p. viii.
[4] Reproduced in P. Heitz, *Basler Büchermarken*, p. 75 (fig. 121).

material available as a whole before him and made, apart from one important textual variant, only orthographic alterations; Schröter used the text of one print and the pictures from elsewhere, some of them recognizably from the print of Sigfrid Apiarius. There are more textual variants between S and Ba than there were between the two Nürnberg prints: a number of these are shared by the Bern print (of Sigfrid Apiarius) alone, and I have no hesitation in attributing them to this source. On textual grounds alone I would not be so confident in my attribution: I am here using external criteria in support. The number of these variants is not large—not more than a dozen of any significance—so that the text of Ba is substantially that of S.

A third group which may throw light on our problem is formed by three prints, dated, but without the name of the printer or place where they were printed. They were printed in 1585, 1591, and 1642; Golther called the first two O and O^1 respectively, and I shall call the third O^2 (this print was not known to Golther). The textual evidence for the relationship of the first two of these is given by Golther in his edition: they are both descended from a common source, no longer preserved.[1] The important consideration for our present purposes is that the lay-out of the two prints is identical, for it stresses yet again the fidelity with which printers followed their models. A further relevant feature, and one which Bernhöft did not mention, is that this similarity extends to the wood-cut which these two prints have on the title-page. There are not wood-cuts in the text: only the headings remain. So close is the resemblance that when I first saw them, in a microfilm reader, and then on a photographic print, I thought they were printed from the same block. Closer examination, however, reveals that this is not so: this would appear to be a case of a minutely executed copy to which I referred earlier in this article (p. 67), or, more strictly, two minutely executed copies from a lost original. This is thus the third, or again more strictly, the fourth (since we are here dealing with two copies from a lost original) case in the *Hürnen Seyfrid* tradition of exact copying. This fidelity to his model did

[1] Pp. xvi f. See also Bernhöft, *Das Lied vom hörnenen Sigfrid*, Rostock, 1910, pp. 115 ff.

not, however, prevent the printer, at least of O, from modernizing the actual forms of the text. On textual grounds it is perfectly clear that O^2 is derived from O^1, but, as in the case of the other prints discovered since Golther's edition, I will reserve the full presentation of the evidence for the introduction to my edition. But, in spite of this close textual dependence, the lay-out is different, and, although O^2 has, in common with its model, a title-page wood-cut, this wood-cut is entirely different.

As a conclusion to this section I append a short summary on the general relation of the prints in respect of the wood-cuts.

The two Nürnberg prints have 27 (wood-cuts and headings); in the second group, F also has 27 and S 24 (wood-cuts and headings) (Ba is incomplete); the anonymous group has 28 (headings alone). Nos. 1-27 in K, F, O, O^1 correspond, with the exception of slight textual variants (omission of words, etc.). No. 28 in O and O^1 is, naturally, additional. In the case of S the reduction is progressive. We have already seen (p. 69) how one wood-cut was omitted from the first five (perhaps to avoid overcrowding). S then combines 15 and 16 (standard numbering), thus becoming two behind, and later omits nos. 22 and 23. It reduces the gap again to three by adding a heading and wood-cut after the one corresponding to standard 27 (thus agreeing with O and O^1 in having one extra here, but the heading is quite different from O and O^1, and the wood-cut is the same as had already been used for no. 8).

I have used the word overcrowding in connection with F. This leads to a further interesting feature which, again, I would not use for constructing a stemma, but the corroborative evidence of which I would, and do, welcome. K (and N) have three strophes to the first page, and so have O and O^1 (one cannot carry this comparison any farther because of the absence of wood-cuts themselves in the latter), but F and S (and Ba) have four. This is in accordance with the stemma, where frequently K readings agree with O and O^1 against F and S. There is a further agreement between these two groups: in the placing of the wood-cut headings in relation to the text (the crowding in F, with, e.g. four strophes to the page instead of three, would naturally throw the balance out). I find it significant that, in spite of the absence of

the wood-cuts themselves, the placing of the headings agrees to a very high degree. Only three differ (nos. 19, 23, 27). I regard this as strengthening my contention, based on textual evidence, that all our prints go back to one source, that the anonymous group, in spite of the lateness of its preserved prints, is a good witness, and that the Frankfurt-Straßburg group permits itself considerable liberties.

II

The next part of the problem is the spellings adopted in these same prints. The features which, under this heading, most obviously require examination are the rendering of the diphthongs which developed from Middle High German *ī* and *ei* and whether any attempt is still made to keep them distinct;[1] the use and interchangeability of *i* and *y*;[2] and certain consonant doublings and combinations. These I will now examine in detail, and for the purpose of this examination I will treat each of the groups of prints separately, and in the same order as in the previous section.

The most frequent word under the heading of the Middle High German diphthong *ei* is the word for rock. This occurs sixty-nine times, including compounds and derivatives, and is spelt *steyn* (or rarely *stein*) every time in K. N, with only three exceptions, spells *stayn* (rarely *stain*). In view of the earliest practice of rendering the diphthong from Middle High German *ī* as *ei* and that from MHG. *ei* as *ai*,[3] one might be tempted to regard this distinction between our two prints as an indication of the earlier date of N; but I maintain that it would be wrong to allow this consideration to prevail in the face of a definite indication to the contrary from textual evidence.

There is a subsidiary problem to this: the use of *y* for *i* (or *i* for *y*). K has only twice *stein*, and in both cases N has substituted *ai*; in addition there are four other *stain* spellings in N, and one *stein*. The problem can, however, best be dealt with later, in connection with the question of the choice between *i* and *y*.

[1] V. Moser, *Frühneuhochdeutsche Grammatik*, I, § 77, 1.
[2] Moser, *op. cit.* § 18, 1.
[3] Moser, *op. cit.* § 79, I, 1.

The problem is much less clear-cut in the case of the other words with Middle High German *ei*; there is less consistency, and at first sight little sign of a policy. Closer examination, however, reveals one interesting example of a calculated distinction. It would not be helpful to list all the words under this heading, and a few examples can adequately illustrate the point. The word *keyn* is so spelt in both prints almost without exception: such an exception is in strophe 39, 4, where N has *kayn*; *beyde*, *reyn*, *zwey*, *meyster*, and others, are all so spelt in both prints on every occasion. There are only two words which are always spelt with *ay* in both: *ayd*(*e*) and *waynen*. Of words with Middle High German *ei* from *-age* and *-ege mayd* is so spelt in both prints on three occasions; *meyd* in both on one occasion; and twice (69, 7 and 97, 4) *mayd* in N and *meyd* in K. On one occasion both prints have *gesayt*, on another *geseyt*, and on a third *verzeyt*; *angeleyt* appears once, in both prints. There are enough examples to show that the trend is the same as with the word for rock: a preference in N for *ay* spellings; in fact in two consecutive strophes (23 and 24) there are, apart from one *stayn/steyn* four *ei* words, and in each case the spelling is *ay* in N and *ey* in K. There are other cases of the same nature, but scattered.

I come now to the particular example of a calculated distinction referred to in the previous paragraph: the word for one, or the indefinite article. The distinction is here not between the two prints, but within the prints themselves according to grammatical case. With only three exceptions the word is spelt *ein* when used in the uninflected form (nom. sing. masc., nom. and acc. sing. neut., and once as acc. sing. masc. contracted), and *eyn-* in inflected cases, in derivatives, and in compounds. The exceptions are 81, 8, where K has *ein*, but N *eyn*, 125, 5 with N *ein* and K *eyn*, and the first wood-cut heading, where K has *einem* and N *eynem*.

One may summarize and say that as far as K is concerned the picture is similar to that of *stein*: a predominance of *ey*, but with N there is not the evidence of the same deliberate substitution of *ay*.

The spelling of the Early New High German diphthong which developed from Middle High German *ī* is uniform in both

prints to the extent that there are no cases of *ay*(*ai*). It is therefore purely a question of *ey* or *ei*. By far the most frequent spelling in both prints is *ey* : cases of both prints having *ei* are rare and confined to unaccented final syllables. There are several cases where N has *ei* and K *ey*, and others again where N has *ey* and K *ei*. Is this deliberate?

It is difficult to see any pattern : for example, there are ten cases of variation up to and including strophe 63, and in all except two of these, N has the *ey* spelling and K the *ei*; from 73 (the next occurrence) onwards these cases are more frequent, and the procedure would at first sight appear to be a reversal. There are namely numerous cases of N having *ei* and K *ey* (e.g. 85, 6 and 87, 4 *sein*/*seyn* (pronoun); 110, 2; 111, 2; 162, 4 *leib*/*leyb*; 111, 4; 112, 2; 162, 2 *weib*/*weyb*) ; but against this we have in the ninth wood-cut heading, in 42, 6; 152, 8; 168, 5 for the pronoun *sein* in K and *seyn* in N. We even find in 118, 6 *speiß* in K, *speyß* in N, and in 155, 4 *speyß* in K and *speiß* in N. Although the third person singular pronoun shows considerable variation, the second person singular is more constant and has only three cases (*deyn* (K)/*dein* (N) in 103, 2; 161, 5; 161, 8) and the first person only one (*mein* (K)/*meyn* (N) in 176, 2).

There are altogether two more cases of K having *ey* to N *ei* than vice versa, so that one certainly cannot say that there was a consistent policy of spelling adopted as in the case of the word *steyn*/*stayn*. The fact, however, still remains that the spelling *ey* is by far the predominant one. It is worthy of note, and perhaps significant, that the words *deyn leyb* (alone and in combination with each other), which are of frequent occurrence, are invariably so spelt down to strophe 68, and afterwards vary as shown above.

I hesitate to draw any but the most tentative conclusions from this, but I do nevertheless consider it a significant feature that from strophe 70 onwards both prints show a greatly increased preference for *ei* ; and that N shows an even greater liking for it, a liking which runs counter to his preference in the earlier strophes (down to 62). It may be due to a different compositor, or it may have been due to shortage of types (not enough *y*'s), or it may be due to quite fortuitous circumstances ; but whatever

the cause, the result should act as a warning to an editor who wishes his critical text to appear as genuine as possible not to adopt too consistent a spelling.

The problem of the rendering of Middle High German short *i* is connected with that of the spelling of the diphthongs, in that the choice between *i* and *y* is a part of both problems ; the use of *j* is another part. The latter is in one way of less concern to us, for its use is fairly uniform, being confined to the pronouns *jn*, *jm*, *jr*, *jch* ; on the other hand the regularity of its use is important for the contrast it makes with the, at least comparatively, erratic and arbitrary procedure in the other cases we have dealt with. The use of the letter *j* for the initial sounds of the pronouns *jn*, *jm*, *jr* is in accordance with common Early New High German usage.[1] Normal Early New High German practice too is the use of *i* in *ist* and the preposition *in*. Both prints, however, tend to run counter to this practice in the case of the pronoun of the first person singular : this is regularly spelt *jch* in K, while N has in several cases substituted *i*.[2] This might be regarded as another instance of what we saw in the case of the rendering of the word *stein* : K regularly has the abnormal spelling, which N seems to have set out to ' correct ' but fails to carry out this ' correction ' completely.

Within the word the choice is only between *y* and *i*. Here there is no such regularity ; or rather, in the case of words where alternative spellings are used there is no such regularity, but there are words where *i* alone is used, apart from *ist* and the preposition *in*, such as *dich*, *sich*, *schilt*. In fact it is the words which have the alternative spellings which are the exception. They can be listed : *hin* (and compounds), *sin*, *riß*, *nimpt*, *grimmig*, *innig*. And all possible combinations are found : *i* in both, as in *hin* (strophes 6, 3 ; 9, 5 ; 35, 2), *y* in both, as *hyn* (3, 2), *i* in N, *y* in K (*hinache*/*hynache* in 35, 3), *y* in N and *i* in K (*hynumbe*/*hinumbe* in 140, 5). Similarly with *grimmigklich* (both with *i* in 57, 2), *grymmig* (both, 127, 5), *grymmigklich* (N)/*grimmigklich* (K) (65, 2), and *innigklichen* (N)/*ynnigklichen* (K) (117, 3).

The word for giant is consistently spelt with *y* in both prints ; while the Early New High German preterite singular of the verb

[1] Moser, *op. cit.* § 12.

[2] Cf. Moser, *op. cit.* § 12, Anm. 2.

to tear is spelt *ryß* in N and *riß* in K (8, 8). *Gybich* is spelt with *y* on all occasions in both, and *Krimhilt* with *i* in the first syllable.[1]

As far as the consonants are concerned, both our Nürnberg prints show the freedom from excesses which we so frequently meet in the second quarter of the sixteenth century.[2] Features shared by both are double *ff*, finally as in *auff*, *lieff*, *warff*, etc., medially in *klaffter*, *rüfft*, *helffen*, frequent but by no means invariable final *dt* as in *begundt*, *schwerdt*, etc.; *-gk-* is normal for the suffix *-ig* when followed by *-lich* (e.g. *grymmigklich*), but single *g* when final (e.g. *der grymmig Hagen* in 175, 1). A strophe taken at random can illustrate better than a detailed description the general restraint; strophe 34 appears as follows:

Und do derselb Seyfride Gewůchs zů eynem man
Er wolt eyns morgens jagen Und reyten zů dem than
Mit Habich und mit hunden Der stoltze degen bald
Er het den starcken thieren Verzogen da den wald.

Our main concern is the differences between the two prints, and this in practice means more or fewer complications. A few examples will suffice. The form with single *n* for the preposition *in* is normal in both prints (e.g. 1, 8; 7, 8; 8, 1). There are, in addition, numerous cases where K has the spelling with single *n* but N with *nn*, e.g. 11, 5; 21, 2. Similarly with *syn/synn* in 2, 7. In these cases the simple form is that of K. Less consistent is the final *t*. Here, as with the alternation of *i* and *y*, all combinations are met with: both have single *t* (*rot*, 88, 8, *not*, 98, 6), both have *dt* (*todt*, 88, 6 and frequently, both for adjective and noun), K has the simple form and N *dt* as, for example 17, 8 *magt/magdt* (also 25, 2; 37, 8; 50, 2; 94, 6), and fourthly, N has the simple form and K has *dt*, as, for example, 151, 6 *stund/stundt*, 179, 6 *wirt/wirdt*. There are cases (tenth wood-cut; 48, 4; 154, 5; 161, 2; 175, 3) where K has the simple form *wil* and N *will*; *erlößt* (N) against *erlöst* (K) in 32, 8 and 50, 8; and *schall* (N) against *schal* (K) in 120, 2 show the same tendency.

[1] This latter is, of course, not a Middle High German short *i*; it is, however, presumably intended to represent a short sound, since, as is usual in Early New High German, the long single vowel which normally develops from Middle High German *ie* is still so spelt (*lieff*, *lieb*, etc.).

[2] Moser, *op. cit.* § 28.

The impression gained is that the earlier print, K, has the simple forms, while N favours doubling and combination. In the case of the *ey/ay* alternative there is clear evidence of a conscious and deliberate policy, and moreover one which is carried out with a high degree of consistency, but one cannot say the same here: there are too many examples of a final *dt* in K corresponding to a single final consonant in N.

I have dealt fully with the two Nürnberg prints because the evidence of their relation is so good and because this relation is so close. It would not be profitable to repeat in anything like the same detail the agreements and disagreements between the Straßburg and Basel prints. I shall, of course, disregard obvious modernizations, such as the use of capital initial letters, use of *h*, or *e* after *i*, as length signs, and confine myself to the more prominent features in the rendering of vowels and diphthongs.

Agreement between the two prints is close. In the case of the initial short *i*, we find it spelt with *j* in the pronouns *jn*, *jm*, *jr*, in accordance with the general Early New High German practice (see above) and in agreement with the Nürnberg prints. Both prints (S and Ba), as well as the related Frankfurt one, are equally consistent in their adherence to Early New High German practice in their spelling of *ich* with *i*. In this case, as we saw above (p. 78) one of the Nürnberg prints consistently spelt with *j*.

The spelling of the names of the maiden and her father is instructive. That of the maiden occurs four times; in S it is spelt *Grymhilt* the first three times and the fourth time with *i* (in the first syllable), while in Ba the first two occurrences have *y* and the third *i* (there is no fourth, for that part of the text is missing). The father is mentioned seven times; in S the form *Gibich* is always used, while of the four mentions which occur in Ba three have *i* and one *y*. Eleven cases is but little upon which to base a conclusion, but one may perhaps tentatively regard this as a lessening of consistency with the passage of time—especially if one looks at the print in the other branch of this group of the stemma, the Frankfurt one. This may well be older than S, and it has *i* for *Gibich* each time, and *y* for *Grymhilt*.

For these names the Nürnberg prints have *y* for *Gybich* each time and *i* for *Krimhilt*.

Medial short *i* in other than proper names is usually spelt *i* (*sinn*, *hinnen*, etc.); *riß* (past participle of *reißen*) is so spelt, in both prints and in F. In the case of the word for giant, S spells *Ryß*, *Ryse*(*n*). Ba is less consistent: it usually keeps the spelling of its source, but in 59, 2 and 90, 1 it uses the spelling *Riß*, and again in the heading of the seventeenth (standard numbering) wood-cut, whereas immediately after (107, 2) he uses *Ryß*. F uses *riß* for the past participle of *reißen* and *Ryß*, etc., for giant, so that here, and with the two names just dealt with, it looks as if the common source of F and S had a consistent spelling, that this was adhered to in F, fairly closely adhered to in S, but much more carelessly treated in Ba. That one cannot generalize on these lines is revealed by three words with peculiar spellings: in 3, 1 F spells *Rethe*, S *Rhåte*, Ba *Råhte*; in the tenth (standard numbering) wood-cut heading F spells *rheit*, S *rheit*, Ba *reit*; and in 36, 4 F *ruhe*, S *rhuhe*, Ba *ruhe*. Here it looks almost as if S were working to a principle. Perhaps the source of F and S may have introduced the *h*, and S, several years later, found that this was a popular practice[1] and extended the use, and that Ba disliked it and removed the *h*—its use in *Råhte* could be regarded as an indication of vowel length.

The question of the Early New High German diphthongs from Middle High German *ī* and *ei* really resolves itself into a question of the choice between *i* and *y*—there are no *ai* or *ay* spellings, only *ei* and *ey*; and *ei* is the more common. The preposition *bey* is regularly so spelt in both S and Ba, but *beim* in 57, 3; and *ey* is favoured for *drey*, *Eyde*, *beyde*, *Keyser*(*in*). The spelling *bey* seems quite firm, and not to be at all influenced by neighbouring words, as the following examples show: 13, 4 *bey keinem Keyser*; 39, 3 *bey seinen zeiten*; 51, 2 *bey dem Rheine*. In these cases F has the same spelling, except that he prefers *Keiser*.

The word *Eisen* is instructive. It occurs three times within a few lines at the beginning of the poem (4, 7; first wood-cut heading; 5, 1); F spells *Eisen* in all three cases (although it has *Eysen* in 132, 3), S has *Eisen* in the first case and *Eysen* in the other two, Ba has *Eysen* in all three.

[1] Moser, *op. cit.* § 29, 2.

Finally the third, anonymous, group. With the exception of the Basel print, all three in this group are by far the latest prints, and this is reflected in the spelling—in the case of O and O^1 in relation to earlier prints, and in that of the still later O^2 in relation to its model O^1. O and O^1, for example, use the spelling *jhr*, *jhn*, *jhm* ; this *h* had occurred in F and S, but much less commonly, and not so obviously as a sign of vowel length. O^2 regularly spells *Ries*(*e*), for the older prints' *Ryß*, *Rys*(*e*), *Ris*(*e*), and employs capital initial letters in the modern German manner.

An examination of the spelling in O and O^1 shows a pattern based on individual words and not on any etymological or phonological basis. A few examples will suffice: *bey* is regularly so spelt, *beyde* also, and the numerals *zwey*, *drey* (*drey Eyde*), *Eysen*, *Heyden* ; but *sein* and oblique cases, *leib*, *zeiten*, *Rein*, etc. Usually the two prints agree in each attested case, but there are deviations, e.g. O^1 *leysten*/O *leisten*, O^1 *leyder*/O *leider*, O^1 *beyten*/ O *beiten*. Particularly significant for the prints' dependence on their model is the case of the three occurrences of the word *reit*(*en*) in 34, 4; 35, 3; and the tenth wood-cut heading: both prints have *reiten*, *reyt*, *reit* respectively (O^2 has *reiten*, *reit*, *reit*). In the spelling of the names of the heroine and her father, both prints are consistent and agree with each other: *Gybich* and *Krimhilt* (except O^1's reading *Trinhuden* in the ninth wood-cut heading). This agrees with the spelling of the Nürnberg prints, as opposed to the FSBa group. In view of the consistency of the spelling of these names, I am inclined to attach significance to this, for it is in accordance with the distribution of textual variants; it is noticeable how often the readings of the oldest print, K, and the most modern, O and O^1, agree against those of the FSBa group. In these cases the stemma demands that these readings be adopted, and the sense supports this choice. Should one act on the same principle in the choice of the spelling for a critical edition? O^2 here has broken the consistency, and has *Gibich* in the first three cases and *Gybich* in the last four, but *Krimhilt* each time.

III

This, then, is the evidence. It has been, I think, necessary to devote so much space to the minutiae, for it is only by an exact comparison that any conclusions about an individual printer's spelling policy can be formed. What are the conclusions that we may draw?

One might be tempted to say that there was complete arbitrariness in the spellings adopted, not only in respect of the relation of one print to another, but within individual prints themselves. And to an extent that judgment remains after close examination. We have seen how the earliest print quite clearly prefers, and with great consistency carries out, the spelling *ey* for the sound from the Middle High German *ī*, but that Wachter, when copying from it, not infrequently deviated, so that we find several examples of the spelling *dein* and *leib* in his print, which clashes with his generally adopted spelling and clashes with that of his model; and even within K we find deviation, such as, for example, *grymmig* in 143, 2 and *grimmig* in 175, 1. On the other hand the judgment would not appear to be justified in the case of the Hergotin print. Furthermore, there are other words where complete consistency is maintained. For example, *diser*, and its inflected cases, is always spelt with *i*; and this is common to all the prints, except where they show the modern spelling with length sign *dieser*.

Words such as this present no problems to the editor: the earlier Early New High German practice agrees exactly with Middle High German, and so, naturally, this spelling will be adopted. The state of the tradition being such that we cannot hope to reconstruct the Middle High German original of our poem—even if there were one, which is by no means certain—our difficulties arise when there is a change of practice between Middle High German and Early New High German. The alternation of *i* and *y* for the short vowel sound is well enough known from Middle High German manuscripts, so that the variation in our prints, at least in the earliest, in such words as *syn/sin* is of no particular significance and may well have Middle High German manuscript authority. One might be tempted to

normalize and choose for editing purposes either one or the other, were it not for the fact that there are some words where the printers do not permit themselves any variation. If, for example, an editor decided to spell the Middle High German short *i* in open syllable—which later became lengthened—*i*, this would work perfectly well with *diser* (in fact it would accord exactly with the earliest print), it would do no particular violence to *syn/sin*, but it would involve spelling the word for giant *ris*(*e*) or *riß*. The objection to this is that the word would then be spelt the same way as the Early New High German form of the preterite singular of *reißen*. There would be no occasion in our particular poem where this would cause ambiguity, but it would conflict with what appears to be a policy on the part of the earliest printer, who spells with *y* for the giant and *i* for the verb.

Still greater violence would be done if we tried to normalize in the case of the diphthong *ei*. Should we adopt the ' standard ' *ai*(*ay*)? This would mean spelling *stain* all the way through, a spelling, in the variant form *stayn*, which seems to be consciously aimed at by Wachter, but goes against the completely consistent spelling *steyn* of the older, Hergotin, print. In view of the consistency with which Hergotin has carried through the *ey* spelling in this word, and in many others too (*ayd* and *waynen* alone are regularly spelt with *ay*) I should hesitate to do this, especially as it would not be supported by any of the other prints, except N. If we chose to use regularly the spelling with *e* we should have more support, but then there would still remain the problem whether the second element should be *i* or *y*. For the word for rock *steyn* would be in accordance with the oldest print, and this would apply for most other words too, but it would mean spelling *weynen* and *eyd*, spellings which K avoids.

Most serious, however, is the objection in the case of the indefinite article, for here, as we saw in the examination of the Nürnberg prints, a consistent policy is followed, with a distinction between *ei* and *ey* according to grammatical case. It is true no ambiguity would result, and, as we have seen, the later prints abolish this distinction, but it would, and I stress this, mean undoing something which the earliest known print deliberately either introduced or copied from a source which had introduced

it. This is not the original print—if it were there would be no occasion for a critical text—and we cannot tell whether the original print had this distinction, but it seems fairly evident from our examination of the extant *Hürnen Seyfrid* prints that variations within a particular print were normal.

The spelling of the diphthong arising from Middle High German *ī* is really subsidiary to the question of the choice between *i* and *y*, for the *ay/ai* rendering is unknown in the two Nürnberg prints for this sound, although it is used for Middle High German *ei*, as we have seen, both in these prints and in the later ones. But, throughout, its use remains infrequent.

We must now take another look at the proper names, partly because they form a part of our problem in any case, and partly because they have obtained in the study of this poem a prominence which they should never have obtained (I refer to the building up of the stemma on the basis of the name of the hero). The significant names for our purpose are those of the hero, the heroine, her father, and the owner of the treasure. The owner of the treasure is named nine times. In the Nürnberg prints the spelling each time is the same: *Nybling*, with the appropriate ending. In the Frankfurt, Straßburg, and Basel branch, the *y* is also prevalent: in each case in F, and in S (in S only eight times, for one of the wood-cut headings where the name occurs is omitted); in Ba (which is incomplete) only the first six cases occur, and of these one has the spelling *Nibling*. Thus a lessening of consistency with age. In the group of the three anonymous prints, *y* also predominates: in O^1 (not the oldest in date of printing, but the print which retains the oldest forms) there is one occurrence with *i*, otherwise always *y*, but in O there are four *i* to five *y* spellings. O^2 has improved on its model and removed the one aberrant spelling and has in all nine cases *Nybling*. It has also corrected its model in another respect: on two occasions O^1 has *Nymbling* which O^2 has corrected to *Nybling* (strophe 134, 1 and 5).

The heroine and her father are named four and seven times respectively. In K and N they are consistently spelt *Krimhilt* and *Gybich*. The Frankfurt print is equally consistent in spelling the heroine *Grymhilt* and the father *Gibich*. S also has

Gibich each time, *Grymhilt* three times and *Grimhilt* once. In the Basel print only the first four cases of the father's name occur and the first three of the daughter's. Of the four, three are according to the pattern of the group, *Gibich*, and one *Gybich*; of the three of the heroine, two are according to pattern, and one against. Again a lessening of consistency with age. In the anonymous group, O and O^1 are entirely consistent, spelling *Gybich* and *Krimhilt*. O^2 in this case has deviated from its model and spells *Gibich* the first three times, otherwise *Gybich*, and always *Krimhilt* (with, of course, the exception of *Trinhuden*). It is, I think, worthy of note that this agreement of the oldest prints (K and N) with the youngest (the anonymous group) against the intermediate group (F and S) has numerous parallels in actual textual variants.

Finally the name of the hero. In this case each print is consistent, but there is one significant difference in the grouping. As above, O and O^1 differ from F and S, the former having *Sewfrid*, the latter *Seyfrid*. K spells Sewfrid. It was formerly customary to divide the prints into two main groups according to the spelling of the name of the hero; the only Nürnberg print then known (that of Wachter) had *Seyfrid*, and hence the grouping NFBa (S was also unknown) against O and O^1. Our examination of the spelling of selected words has shown how drastically Wachter (N) altered his model (K), and he did the same in the rendering of the name of the hero, changing *Sewfrid* to *Seyfrid*. The arrangement is thus the same as with the heroine and her father: K agreeing with O and O^1 against F and S. The aberrant spelling of N does not in any way affect its connection, almost identity, with K for textual purposes; but it emphasizes the danger of relying on orthographical criteria for the construction of a stemma.

My final conclusion therefore is that of the three possibilities I envisaged at the beginning of this article, namely: (*a*) to adopt a normalized spelling, (*b*) to establish a critical spelling, and (*c*) to adopt the spelling of one print, the first is inadmissible, if only on account of the deliberately adopted abnormalities. In support of the second possibility it can be said that in the case of certain proper names it would work, for the distribution of variants

agrees with that of numerous textual variants; but, apart from these names, there is too little consistency to justify its adoption. This leaves us with the third possibility. It may be objected that to adopt the spelling of any one print is arbitrary, even though it be the oldest, but I maintain that the evidence from within the branches of the stemma, F : S-Ba and O : O^1-O^2, shows in numerous instances a quite slavish following of a model; the only evidence of the contrary is the one feature of N substituting *ay* for *ey* in *steyn* and some other words. Consequently I maintain that it is not unreasonable to act on the assumption (it cannot be more than this) that the earliest print may have followed the spelling of the original equally slavishly. I shall therefore in my edition adopt the spelling of K, the Hergotin print; where the critical reading differs from that of K, I shall spell as K would have spelt it if it is one of those words where this print uses a consistent spelling, e.g. indefinite article; if the word is one where K fluctuates, my choice will have to be arbitrary. Fortunately, as the examination has, I think, shown, these cases will not be numerous.

THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES OF THE PARIS SECTIONS IN 1793: A MANUSCRIPT IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY

By R. B. ROSE, B.A.

THE John Rylands Library is particularly rich in materials relating to the French Revolution and the Napoleonic epoch. These materials may be divided into four main sections. Firstly, there is a foundation collection of several thousands of printed books, including many rare items and equally rare revolutionary periodicals. Secondly, by virtue of an important gift made by Lord Crawford on the occasion of the Library's semi-jubilee in 1924, the Library acquired a further collection of upwards of 15,000 proclamations, placards and broadsides relating to the history of France from the Revolution to the Commune of 1871. A third, and perhaps even more important accession was a large collection of revolutionary and anti-revolutionary tracts, deposited in 1946, and consisting of more than 15,000 brochures and pamphlets. Finally, it remains to mention a number of volumes of correspondence and various miscellaneous papers which are to be found among the French manuscripts and which have been acquired on various occasions.[1] It is amongst the last-named collection, in Rylands French MS. 110, that there occurs the 'Émargement des Membres du Comité Revolutionnaire des Sections de Paris, 1793',[2] which is the subject of this article.

This manuscript consists of twenty-nine sheets of paper of various sizes, of which the most common measures 477 mm. × 354 mm. Each sheet has the following heading, generally

[1] For the material referred to above, see BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, Vol. 30 (1946-47), No. I, p. 193, and also Moses Tyson, *Hand-list of French and Italian MSS.* (1930), reprinted from the BULLETIN, Vol. 14, No. 2. Lord Crawford's gift was more extensive than appears in the present account, since it contained material concerned with other periods. It comprised, in fact, more than 20,000 items.

[2] Referred to below, for the sake of brevity, as 'French 110', or in the notes as 'Fr. 110'.

printed : 'ÉTAT des Indemnités dues à chacun des Membres du Comité de la Section d' [followed by a blank for the name of the section concerned]. Below this are seven columns headed, respectively, 'Émargement'; 'Noms des Membres'; 'Époques de l'Installation de chaque membre, de la Cessation de chaque Membre'; 'Durée des fonctions'; 'Sommes dues à chacun des Membres pour la durée de leurs fonctions'; and finally, 'Observations'.

This document would seem to be a stray from the archives of the 'Administration des Domaines et Finances', that section of the municipal authority of Paris concerned, in collaboration with the treasurer, with the city's finances. Few documentary traces of the activity of this body seem to have survived, and it is probable that most of its papers were amongst the substantial collection of archives destroyed in the fire which gutted the old Hôtel de Ville in 1871, during the suppression of the Commune.[1] A few of its printed publications have, however, been preserved.[2] These suggest a gradual growth in the importance of the 'Administration' and in the complexity of its functions. Originally established on 13 July 1789 for the administration of public properties in the hands of the Paris municipality, it must have soon begun, as a result of the traffic in church properties confiscated by the revolution, to handle large quantities of ready money. As a result the Commune, the elected government of the capital, found it convenient to use its facilities when settling outstanding debts. When, later, in addition, the 'Administration' was charged with receiving the taxes of the Paris Département it became, in effect, a miniature exchequer with a wide competence.

Thus it was that when, on the 18 Brumaire an II (8 November 1793), the Convention decreed that the revolutionary committees of the forty-eight sections of Paris should receive for their services an emolument of five livres per day for each member, it was decided to make payment through the municipal 'Administration

[1] Such, in fact, is the opinion of the Director of the French Archives Nationaux, who has kindly answered the author's queries concerning this and other matters.

[2] See M. Tourneux, *Bibliographie de l'Histoire de la Ville de Paris pendant la Revolution*, Vol. III, Nos. 13514-13516, 13522, 13525, 13540, 13542.

des Domaines et Finances '. On 24 Brumaire the three administrateurs in charge of the department, Salmon, Lasnier and Godefroy,[1] accordingly circularized the forty-eight presidents of the sections, inviting each to submit a list of those claiming payment under the terms of the convention's decree.[2]

Since the last ' Compte Rendu ' of the ' Administration ' to which we have access covers only the period from 8 March 1792 to 25 August 1792, it has previously been impossible to judge in what manner the sections complied with this instruction. Happily, however, twenty-nine of the émargements or pay claims submitted by the sections either at this date or subsequently, are preserved in the manuscript now under consideration, Rylands French 110. These émargements are identical neither in form nor in content. Some contain claims for back-pay from March 1793; others are merely claims for a monthly instalment of the promised salary; in one case a claim is extended for two months arrears. A detailed description of the nature of each is, perhaps, best summarized in the form of a table (see p. 91).

The twenty-eight[3] sections listed are drawn from all quarters of the capital and are a fairly representative selection. They may, therefore, be taken as a cross-section of the forty-eight, even though the intensely individual nature of many of the sections must exert a cautionary influence on any attempt to generalize, even from a majority.

The procedure adopted for the presentation of an émargement differed from section to section. The lists themselves carry a variety of different marks of authorization. Some bear both the seal or stamp of the General Assembly of the section and that of the revolutionary committee.[4] Others have either the one or the other mark.[5] Still others are without any seal or stamp whatever.[6] While some lists are signed by the president and

[1] The three officials had been elected on 23 August at a meeting of the General Council of the Commune (*Moniteur*, 26 August 1793).

[2] E. Mellié, *Les Sections de Paris pendant la Révolution*, p. 210.

[3] It will be noted from the table that Fr. 110 contains two émargements sent in by the Homme Armé section.

[4] E.g. Quatre-Vingts section (Fr. 110, f. 3).

[5] E.g. Champs Elysées, Mutius Scaevola sections (*ibid.* fos. 4, 5).

[6] E.g. Fontaine de Grenelle section (*ibid.* f. 2).

secretary of the General Assembly,[1] yet others bear the signature either of the president and secretary of the revolutionary committee [2] or of the full complement of twelve members, signing collectively.[3]

Folio No.	*Name of Section*	*Dates for which payment is claimed*	*Date of Authorization*
15	Popincourt . . .	27 March 1793-22 October 1793	5 Frimaire An II
3	Quinze-Vingts . .	28 March 1793-22 October 1793	5 Frimaire An II
12	Droits de l'Homme .	28 March 1793-21 October 1793	5 Frimaire An II
4	Champs-Elysées . .	1 April 1793-22 October 1793 .	10 Frimaire An II
9	Homme Armé . .	1 April 1793-22 October 1793 .	10 Frimaire An II
29	Halle au Bled . .	1 April 1793-22 October 1793 .	10 Frimaire An II
20	République Française .	1 April 1793-21 October 1793 .	15 Nivôse An II
21	Amis de la Patrie .	8 April 1793-1 Brumaire An II	—
13	Arsenal . . .	Brumaire An II . . .	1 Frimaire An II
24	Sans-Culottes . .	Brumaire An II . . .	2 Frimaire An II
28	Marchés . . .	Brumaire An II . . .	4 Frimaire An II
8	Temple . . .	Brumaire An II . . .	6 Frimaire An II
1	(*b*) Le Pelletier . .	Brumaire An II . . .	14 Frimaire An II
2	(*a*) Fontaine de Grenelle	Brumaire An II . . .	15 Frimaire An II
14	(*a*) Fraternité . .	Brumaire An II . . .	15 Frimaire An II
19	(*a*) Finisterre . .	Brumaire An II . . .	28 Frimaire An II
25	(*b*) Muséum . .	Brumaire An II . . .	30 Frimaire An II
11	Indivisibilité . .	Brumaire and Frimaire An II .	1 Nivôse An II
16	Révolutionnaire . .	Frimaire An II . . .	29 Frimaire An II
27	Gravilliers . . .	Frimaire An II . . .	29 Frimaire An II
22	(*b*) Montagne . .	Frimaire An II . . .	7 Nivôse An II
17	Invalides . . .	Nivôse An II . . .	1 Pluviôse An II
7	Faubourg du Nord .	Nivôse An II . . .	3 Pluviôse An II
6	Arcis	Pluviôse An II . . .	1 Ventôse An II
10	Homme Armé . .	Pluviôse An II . . .	1 Ventôse An II
23	(*b*) Marat . . .	Pluviôse An II . . .	2 Ventôse An II
26	Lombards . . .	Pluviôse An II . . .	2 Ventôse An II
5	Mutins Scaevola . .	Pluviôse An II . . .	—
18	(*b*) Brutus . . .	Pluviôse An II . . .	—

a. This émargement gives, in addition, an account of changes in membership from the date of installation.

b. This émargement gives, in addition, details of appointment for those members for whom a claim is entered.

These bewildering individual variations may be made to approximate more closely to an intelligible system in the light of the evidence provided by an examination of the two émargements of the Homme Armé section. The claim for 1793 was formally approved by the General Assembly of the section on 10 Frimaire An II [4] (30 Nov. 1793). On the other hand, the monthly claim

[1] Fr. 110, f. 2.

[2] E.g. Homme Armé section (*ibid.* f. 10).

[3] E.g. Arcis section (*ibid.* f. 6).

[4] *Ibid.* f. 9.

submitted for Pluviôse An II was simply witnessed, on the 1 Ventôse (3 Mar. 1794), by the President of the revolutionary committee.[1] In general, it is true to say that, while earlier accounts are authorized by the General Assembly concerned, later accounts are collectively submitted by the revolutionary committee, acting independently. Similarly, while the yearly accounts for 1793 were generally presented to the section for ratification, the later, monthly accounts were not. There are, however, several exceptions to these generalizations. The yearly account for the Amis de la Patrie section, for example, which covers the period from 8 April 1793 to 1 Brumaire An II (22 Oct. 1793), is signed by the committee president alone.[2] At the beginning of Frimaire An II several committees entered a claim for the previous month, Brumaire. While the lists submitted by the Le Pelletier,[3] Fontaine de Grenelle[4] and Marchés[5] committees were first presented for approval to the respective sectional assemblies, the Sans-Culottes,[6] Arsenal[7] and Temple[8] commissaires appear to have acted entirely on their own initiative. Nevertheless, and despite the exceptions noted, it is possible to deduce from the evidence of French 110, the gradual development of the process by which the revolutionary committees were able to throw off the control of their respective sections.

Once authorized, the émargement had to be presented at the 'Mairie', seat of the municipal administration, for the attention of the Administration des Domaines et Finances.[9] For this purpose, in the Faubourg du Nord[10] and in the Halle au Bled sections two members of the committee were delegated, and empowered to receive the sums due to the committee as a whole. That this was a general practice is suggested by the fact that the émargements of two other sections each bear, scribbled at the top of the page, the names of two commissaires, without further qualification.[11]

[1] Fr. 110, f. 10. [2] *Ibid.* f. 21. [3] *Ibid.* f. 1. [4] *Ibid.* f. 2.
[5] *Ibid.* f. 28. [6] *Ibid.* f. 24. [7] *Ibid.* f. 13. [8] *Ibid.* f. 8.
[9] Halle au Bled section (*ibid.* f. 29). The Headquarters of the Administration des Domaines et Finances was not in the Hôtel de Ville itself, but in the Saint-Esprit, one of the neighbouring buildings giving on to the Place de Grève.
[10] Fr. 110, f. 7. [11] Le Pelletier (*ibid.* f. 1), Révolutionnaire (*ibid.* f. 16).

The twenty-nine lists are, unfortunately, innocent of any observation of the 'Administration', or indeed of any form of receipt. It is thus impossible to tell whether they were accepted, returned for emendation, or even rejected by the municipal officers. There is, in fact, no conclusive evidence that they were ever presented. These are some important reservations which must be made when generalizing from these illuminating documents.[1]

Before discussing the fresh evidence which French 110 contributes to the history of the Revolution, it will be necessary briefly to describe the history and functions of the revolutionary committee as an institution. In June 1790 the sixty administrative districts into which Paris had been divided under the *Ancien Régime* were succeeded by a new series of forty-eight sections.[2] The citizens of each section were responsible for electing a civil committee ('comité civil') to fulfil the various administrative duties required of its members by the new constitutional government. Chief amongst these duties were those of police. After the overthrow of the old, arbitrary régime, with its police system centred on the Châtelet, the responsibility for maintaining law and order had devolved upon the elected Commune, assisted by the lesser divisions of the capital. Gradually the need for a specialized police committee, to assist the local constable (Commissaire de Police) began to be apparent in the sections. In particular, the stresses of a revolutionary war, and the overthrow of the throne on 10 August 1792 laid a heavy burden of repressive activity, directed against counter-revolutionary elements, on the shoulders of the already overworked sectional officers. Soon after the capture of the Tuileries, therefore, a central 'Comité de Surveillance' was set up for Paris, with subsidiary committees in each section. The sectional 'Comité de Surveillance' or 'Comité Révolutionnaire'

[1] On the back of each folio, in what appears to be a contemporary hand, there is a scribbled number. The twenty-nine numbers, apparently unrelated, range from 116 to 1100. They may well be a vestigial trace of the Administration's filing system.

[2] Unless otherwise stated, information is drawn from the leading authority on the Paris sections, E Mellié, *op cit.* Ch. V. is devoted to the Revolutionary Committees.

was henceforth to be a body distinct and separate from the older 'Comité Civil'.

It was not, however, until 18 March 1793 that the Convention officially recognized the 'Comité de Surveillance' as a permanent administrative body.[1] On that date it was decreed that each of the 40,000 Communes of France, and with them the sections of the larger cities, should have its committee, to consist of twelve members, assisted by six 'adjoints'.

In the meantime, while in some sections the old committees had been permitted to lapse, in others they had recommenced their activities with even greater vigour as a result of the crisis of March 1793, due to the entry of England into the War, the defeat of Dumouriez' armies in Belgium, and the revolt of large areas in the Vendée against the imposition of conscription.

One of the more important measures adopted by the Convention to counter this crisis was the establishing, on 11 March of the 'Revolutionary Tribunal', a powerful instrument of repression for the political enemies of the revolution.

At least one section, that of the Croix-Rouge, drew the obvious conclusion by electing, on the 13th, a 'Comité Révolutionnaire' charged with uncovering suspects to feed the Revolutionary Tribunal.[2] Nevertheless, the officially recognized committees of 18 March were intended by the Convention to concern themselves specifically and solely with the exercise of a precautionary vigilance over foreigners within their purview. There was still, in the Assembly, a majority of those who feared the increasing autonomy of the sections and the power of their revolutionary leadership as much as the danger of counter-revolution. Even so, as the revolution progressed the revolutionary committees found their sphere of activity continually extended until they became, in effect, the maid-of-all-work of the revolution.[3] On 25 September the Ministry of the Interior circularized the eighty-four Départements of France with a list of

[1] Cochin et Charpentier, *Les Actes du Gouvernement Révolutionaire*, I. 163.

[2] G. Lefebvre, *La Revolution Française* [Les Cours de Sorbonne], vol. I, p. 323.

[3] For the activities of these committees see, in addition to the work by Mellié already cited: (*a*) The Minutes of several committees preserved in the Archives Nationaux Série, F7, 2471-2526 and (*b*) J. G. Alger, *Paris 1789 to 1794*, London, 1902.

INTÉRIEUR D'UN COMITÉ RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE SOUS LE RÉGIME DE LA TERREUR.

Années 1793 et 1794, ou Années 2e et 3e de la République.

From an engraving in the Bibliothèque Nationale

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twenty-nine decrees whose enforcement was within the province of the commissaires.[1] That this list by no means exhausted the competence of the committees is, however, clear from a later, explanatory circular of 26 October, according to which they were to concern themselves with 'all that which bears on general security, hoarding, the food supply, requisitions, speculation in the exchange, on the suppression of the traces of monarchy and feudalism, and measures to prevent speculation in the national effects'.[2] The Paris commissaires supervised food queues, patrolled wine-shops and checked obscene songs. They issued passports and personal papers, received denunciations, undertook searches, made political arrests, and caught deserters for the army. After 1 May 1793 they were entrusted with the raising and equipping of an army of 12,000 men for service against the Vendée insurgents, by means of conscription, requisition, and a 'forced loan', revolutionary euphemism for a tax on the rich. Fragonard's sketch of a committee in operation,[3] whilst undoubtedly something of a caricature, is nevertheless a valid historical document; the artist is known to have had dealings with the revolutionary committee of the Tuileries section on at least two occasions in 1794. On the first, in Germinal, he applied to the commissaires for a 'Certificat de Residence'. On the second, in Floréal, it was a 'Certificat de Civisme' that he required.[4]

Inevitably the picture of a revolutionary committee which has survived in the memoirs of contemporaries and the works of many subsequent historians has been that of a collection of unpleasant ruffians closely resembling Fragonard's sketch. Indeed, the 'ci-devant' victim of requisitions, taxes and arbitrary arrests suffered heavily at the hands of the commissaires. At first expected to give their services voluntarily and without reward, some at least of these officers were not beyond recouping themselves, in default of official payment, by other means. There is evidence that much of the money allocated for expenses stuck to the fingers of those who handled it. On 18 August 1793,

[1] Cochin et Charpentier, *op. cit.* pp. 163-6.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 314. [3] See plate.
[4] Pierre de Nolhac, *J-H. Fragonard*, pp. 100-101.

for example, Chemin was accused by a political opponent before the General Assembly of the Gravilliers section of falsifying the record of the equipment of the section's detachment of troops for the Vendée.[1] The committee of the Panthéon section released arrested persons on bail, a kind of legalized blackmail. Another favourite form of extortion was to permit suspects to remain under house arrest provided that they paid regular sums for their warder's keep, together with a moderate profit for the committee. When, in November 1794, after the collapse of the Jacobin régime, an investigation was undertaken into the affairs of the Luxembourg section,[2] it was alleged that of 67,654 francs wrung by the revolutionary committee from thirty victims only 2,855 francs had found their way into the sectional treasury.[3]

Nevertheless, despite this and similar accusations, it seems likely that many committees found their duties more onerous than lucrative. Thus it was not long before the 576 new 'civil servants' created by the decree of 18 March began to agitate for some recompense for their services. On 27 April their delegates met together at a central point in the Contrat-Social section in order to frame a joint petition for presentation to the Committee of Public Safety. The Convention and the Commune were both sympathetic, but it was not until 12 July that the departmental 'Comité de Surveillance' decided to support a demand for a regular salary of three livres per day [4] for each commissaire. On the 27th this body, responsible for co-ordinating the activities of the forty-eight committees of the Capital, further suggested to the Committee of Public Safety that this indemnity should be paid out of the 'fonds secrets' with which it had been entrusted by the convention. On 7 August the governing committee accordingly placed 50,000 livres at the disposal of Pache, the Mayor of Paris, for the reimbursement of the committee-members.

It is clear, however, from the terms of the grant, that the Committee of Public Safety had not yet accepted the principal of

[1] Archives Nationales W. 20. Dossier of Jacques Roux.

[2] In 1793 known as the 'Mutius Scaevola' section (Fr. 110, f. 5).

[3] Alger, *op. cit.* ch. V, pp. 149-94, deals with the sections and their committees.

[4] A sum worth, in 1789, approximately 2s. 6d. and in 1793, perhaps 25 per cent. less.

a regular salary for the commissaires; rather was the intention merely to compensate the more poverty-stricken among them for actual loss incurred in carrying out government service: 'Le Comité de Salut Public arrête que le Ministre de l'Interieur mettra à la disposition du Maire de Paris 50,000 livres pour indemniser les membres peu fortunés des Comités de Surveillance des sections pendant le présent mois, afin que leurs femmes et leurs enfants ne souffrent pas de la perte de leurs temps'.[1]

It was not until 5 September, in fact, that the Convention, powerless in the face of a Paris uprising led by the Commune, acceded to the commissaires' original demand for three livres a day. By this time inflation had so reduced the value of the original demand, that representatives of the committees were soon at the bar of the Convention to petition for an increase. On 9 October these delegates declared that 'l'indemnité qui leur est accordée est insuffisante pour des sans-culottes, pères de famille, qui sont obligés d'abandonner entièrement leurs occupations pour se livrer aux importants travaux qui leur sont confiés'.[2] As a result of this, and similar approaches, a month later, on 18 Brumaire An II (8 Nov. 1793), the commissaires' salary was finally fixed at five livres per day. It is this sum which is claimed in the twenty-nine émargements of French 110. Curiously, no account is taken of any of the previous payments which should have been received by the revolutionary committees. Their members may well have chosen to regard the back-pay awarded them by the November decree as a 'bonus' for 1793. Alternatively, they may not, in fact, have received any of the moneys allocated to them, as a result of bureaucratic delay in the administrative machinery.

The lists which were submitted by the various committees under the terms of the decree of the 18 Brumaire yield much valuable information about the kind of men who gave their enthusiastic support to the revolution and constituted themselves its protagonists. The names of a total of 444 commissaires, for example, have been preserved for comparison and correlation

[1] A. Aulard, *Receuil des Actes du Comité de Salut Public*, v. 397.

[2] *Moniteur*, 11 October 1793.

with other sources. Inevitably, the majority of these men were more or less obscure personages, about whom little is, or can be, known. Consequently it is dangerous to make generalizations about the social content of the revolutionary committees from the sole evidence of a list of names. Those commissaires who have left their impress in contemporary documents, and about whose social position something is, therefore, known, tend to be the sprinkling of lawyers and men of substance who found their way into the committees, rather than the rank and file members. Fortunately, however, it is possible to make a balanced analysis of the membership of one committee, that of the Montagne section, for the secretary, doubtless unfamiliar with the meaning of the word 'émargement', used the column so headed, not for the signatures of the members, but for an account of their addresses and occupations.[1] Thus the committee is discovered to be almost entirely composed of petit-bourgeois. Of the ten men whose occupation is given, two are shoemakers, two engravers, and one a breeches maker. The list continues with a clock-maker, a hairdresser, and a shopkeeper[2] at the 'Palais Egalité' (formerly the Palais Royal). The upper-middle class is represented by a 'writer' and a 'former lawyer'. This ratio of middle-class intellectuals to petit-bourgeois 'activists' is suggested by other evidence. Only 18 per cent.[3] of the 444 commissaires, for example, can be shown to have belonged to the Jacobin Club, predominantly a middle-class organization, with a relatively high subscription level. There are other indications that the majority of commissaires were 'sans-culottes': small masters or even labourers. When the sections demanded an indemnity for the committees on 27 April, they did so on the

[1] Fr. 110, f. 22. [2] 'Marchand'.

[3] The method used to calculate this figure is open to two important errors, which are, however, compensatory. The list of Commissaires, collated from Fr. 110, has been compared with the list of members of the Jacobins given by Aulard in the index of *La Societé des Jacobins* (Paris, 1888-97), Vol. VI. On the one hand, Aulard's list, though comprehensive, is not complete. On the other, it is impossible to be sure that an identical surname represents an identical person. There are, for example, four Laurents in the list of commissaires. Any one of these may be identical with one of the three Laurents listed as members of the Jacobin club. We may, however, be concerned with seven distinct individuals.

grounds that their members were ' prèsque tous ouvriers ',[1] and otherwise would not be able to spare the time and labour to fulfil their duties. The revolutionary committees drew many of their members from amongst that class which had been thrown into unemployment and poverty by the decline of the luxury trades consequent on the downfall of the court, the flight of the nobility and the austerity imposed by the revolutionary war. Writing of the Bonnet Rouge section, Prudhomme, a contemporary journalist observed in 1796 : ' Le comité révolutionnaire de cette section était composé de laquais, de savetiers, de commissionnaires, de jardiniers, d'intendans de maison '.[2]

The terms of the decree of 18 March 1793 specifically excluded from membership of the committees nobles and priests ; the mass of wage-labourers, in an age of almost universal illiteracy amongst the lower classes, was hardly capable of handling the kind of business which the sectional committees found themselves called upon to undertake, and so it was inevitable that the committees should be staffed by men drawn predominantly from the upper and lower middle-class.

One or two of the commissaires were, relatively, quite wealthy. An extreme case is that of Hagnon, of the Finisterre section, who, the observation column reveals, enjoyed an annual pension of 2,000 livres as one-time steward of La Bisette.[3] Another, Vergne, of the La Pelletier committee, received a salary of 900 livres as ' greffier ' to the local Justice of the Peace.[4] Reference is frequently made in the ' observation ' column to a commissaire's private income ; in addition a considerable number of committee members received salaries from the state in entirely different spheres. Perhaps the most remarkable example of this duality of functions occurs in the Amis de la Patrie section where commissaire Bellamy held the important position of Inspecteur des Postes.[5] Some of the posts secured by commissaires were

[1] By ' ouvrier ' the eighteenth-century Frenchman did not mean ' proletarian ' in the modern sense, but rather the small artisan and his ' compagnons '. The apprentices were usually ' garçons '.

[2] *Histoire Générale des Crimes Commis pendant la Révolution*, v. 247. The passage, part of an attack on the committee, must be accepted with reserve.

[3] Fr. 110, f. 19. [4] *Ibid.* f. 1. [5] *Ibid.* f. 21.

those for which they were undoubtedly well suited.[1] Thus Butin and Bernier of the République Française committee were attached to the Municipal Administration de Police,[2] Pons, of the Fontaine de Grenelle, was an employee of the 'Inventaire des biens des Émigrés',[3] and Pillon, of the Marat section, 'Gardien du Bibliothèque des Émigrés'.[4] Other posts may, perhaps, be more legitimately considered as 'spoils'. Thus Petit received four livres eight sous per day for his work at the 'Comptage des Assignats',[5] Joseph was an inspector attached to the 'Vérification des souliers pour l'Armée'[6], Massé, an employee of the 'Arbitrage des Armes',[7] and Chebrie was attached to the 'Garde-Magasin de la Ville'.[8]

Some commissaires, like Grandmaison of the Fontaine de Grenelle section, whose income as secretary to the local J.P. was only two livres a day,[9] and Soyer of the Finisterre section[10] voluntarily renounced the salary accorded to them as members of their revolutionary committees. Many others claimed only a percentage of their due. Julien and L'Ecoussé of the Popincourt committee subtracted the emolument they had received as members of the Parisian Electoral Assembly from an otherwise substantial claim.[11] Mallain, of the Temple committee, applied for only half his monthly salary because, it was remarked, he had a 'place' worth fifty sous a day.[12] The secretary of the Finisterre committee calculated the amount due to commissaire Rognon, in order to take into account an income of 500 livres a year, on the basis of a daily rate of three livres and fifteen sous instead of five livres.[13] There were many cases of personal sacrifice which may be set against the general obloquy heaped upon the revolutionary commissaires by their assailants. On the other hand, the fact

[1] In all cases given immediately below commissaires have been selected who actually held two offices at the moment of authorization. The Halle au Bled section seems to have insisted on its commissaires resigning on being nominated to another government or judicial post.

[2] Fr. 110, f. 20. [3] *Ibid.* f. 2. [4] *Ibid.* f. 23.

[5] *Ibid.* f. 2, Fontaine de Grenelle section.

[6] *Ibid.* f. 20, République Française section.

[7] *Ibid.* f. 15, Popincourt section.

[8] *Ibid.* f. 13, Arsenal section. [9] *Ibid.* f. 2.

[10] *Ibid.* f. 19. [11] *Ibid.* f. 15.

[12] *Ibid.* f. 8. [13] *Ibid.* f. 19.

that the salaries of commissaires less unselfish were also frequently entered in the ' observation ' column by the secretary responsible for the preparation of the émargement suggests that such sacrifices were not always entirely voluntary, but merely anticipated a means test which the administrateurs were expected to apply.

Once the commissaires had become salaried state servants, with increasingly heavy duties to perform, duality of function could not long be tolerated. On 22 Frimaire (12 Dec. 1793) the mayor, Pache, complaining of this growing tendency to plurality among office-holders, invited members to opt for one post or the other, in order to be able to give more time to the particular post chosen. Nevertheless, the lists at our disposal suggest that, at least in 1793, a fair proportion of revolutionary commissaires were bound to the revolutionary régime by their tenancy of other remunerative public offices.

It is probable that the most significant fresh evidence which a study of French 110 will add to our present knowledge of the French Revolution will concern not the actual composition of the Paris revolutionary committees, but the changes which affected that composition during the most important period of their existence. Sixteen émargements, the accounts of a quarter of the committees, yield a summarized account of replacements for 1793, complete to the date of presentation. In no case did the original committee of twelve survive the period intact. Changes in membership were, of course, frequently due to miscellaneous causes, without any general application. Thus, on 9 June, three members of the Halle au Bled committee resigned in order to take up membership of the newly-formed Departmental Committee of Public Safety.[1] At the date of authorization, Desfieux of the Le Pelletier,[2] and Nicole of the Finisterre section [3] were both unable to fulfil their duties, have been recently arrested, while Desfieux' colleague Tachereau was laconically marked down as ' en fuite depuis le 12 frimaire '. At least eight commissaires resigned their posts in the course of the year to join the regular army, or the army of the Vendée. There were, inevitably, many

[1] Fr. 110, f. 29. [2] *Ibid.* f. 1. [3] *Ibid.* f. 19.

others who left the revolutionary committees for personal and more prosaic reasons. It is, nevertheless, possible to discern, in the changing composition of many committees, a coherent pattern, and to differentiate between the incidental and the fundamental. The history of the Droits de l'Homme committee, though something of an extreme case, will serve to illustrate the nature of a fundamental, as opposed to an incidental change, in this context.[1] Ten out of its twelve members were replaced on 20 April 1793; eight of the committee thus reconstituted were again replaced a month later. Of the committee as it stood on 21 October, five were May nominees, but seven had been appointed in September or October. An analysis of the other 'émargements' which cover the period concerned, such as that contained in the following table, suggests that the sequence of events in the Droits de l'Homme section, though exaggerated, was typical rather than extraordinary.

TABLE TO SUMMARIZE THE COMPOSITION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES OF 16 SECTIONS IN EARLY FRIMAIRE AN II (NOV.-DEC. 1793)

Section	*Dates upon which the complement of members appointed*		
	27 March-8 April	*8 April-1 Sept.*	*After 1 Sept.*
Le Pelletier . .	—	—	12
Fontaine de Grenelle	4	2	6
Quinze-Vingts .	4	4	3
Champs Elysées .	4	8	—
Homme Armé .	3	—	9
Droits de l'Homme .	—	5	7
Fraternité . .	2	—	10
Popincourt . .	—	—	12
Brutus . . .	3	—	9
Finisterre . .	4	1	6
République Française	5	4	3
Amis de la Patrie .	7	—	5
Montagne . .	—	6	6
Marat . . .	—	—	12
Muséum . .	6	3	3
Halle au Bléd .	—	5	7
Totals . .	42	38	110

[1] Fr. 110, f. 12.

From 18 March to 5 September the installation of the revolutionary commissaires was, in theory at least, entirely and solely the concern of the General Assembly of the section.[1] Thus political feuds in the section might be reflected in appointments to the revolutionary committee. The political history of this period was dominated by the struggle between the Girondins and the Jacobins which reached its climax in a successful pro-Jacobin revolt of the sections on 31 May and 2 June. May was a month of fierce struggle for control of the sections, and, in particular, of the sectional committees. The replacement, on 20 May, of eight commissaires of the Droits de l'Homme section and that, on the 22nd, of seven of the members of the République Française committee[2] would seem to be a manifestation of this smouldering battle. It is fairly safe to deduce that these events mark the capturing of the revolutionary committees by the insurrectionary faction. On the 26th the Ministry of the Interior, supporting the Girondin campaign to reverse the Jacobin victory in the sections, issued a circular ordering the renewal of all the ' Comités de Surveillance des Étrangers ' and observing that the adoption of the style ' Comité Révolutionnaire ' was an illegal usurpation.[3] There is, however, no evidence that this attempt to destroy the militancy of the committees and to restrict their activities was ever taken seriously by the sections. The reaction which followed the revolutionary ' Journées ' is more complicated. In the case of the Champs Elysées section it seems probable that the five commissaires replaced on the 11 and 13 June were Girondin supporters.[4] On the other hand, two of the Droits de l'Homme commissaires[5] and three of their colleagues from the Brutus committee[6] may well have been ' retired ' on 5 and 6 June for over-zealous conduct in carrying out arrests and searches. It is known, from other sources, that the Mail section dismissed members of its revolutionary

[1] Methods of election may have differed with the section : on 18 April 1793 the Contrat Social section arrived at the somewhat puzzling decision that members of the ' Comité de Surveillance ' should, like all other sectional officers, submit to the censorial scrutiny of the General Assembly (Archives of the Seine Département, D 134-140).

[2] Fr. 110, f. 20.

[3] Cochin et Charpentier, *op. cit.* p. 163.

[4] Fr. 110, f. 4.

[5] *Ibid.* f. 12.

[6] *Ibid.* f. 18.

committee for similar reasons on the 8th. A secret agent of the Minister of the Interior, reporting on a session of the Commune Council four days later remarked : ' La section du Mail est venu porter une adresse pour inviter le conseil à ratifier, à sanctionner ses précédents arrêtés relativement aux changements qu'elle avait fait dans son Comité Révolutionnaire, au désarmement des citoyens designés sous le nom vague de suspects, et demand la mise en liberté de tous ceux qui ont été mis en état d'arrestation sur de simples soupçons '.[1] Though this reaction had its counterpart in other sections, it did not result in a universal or important reconstitution of the committees such as that which took place in the months September, October and November of 1793. In these three months, as a glance at the table will show, a number of committees were completely re-made, while in others a majority of new commissaires was appointed, so that eleven out of sixteen may be said to have become, in effect, new committees, and only one remained completely intact.

Sometimes this process was sudden and complete. As a result of changes brought about on 24 September and 15 October, the committee of the Popincourt section, which had remained in office substantially intact since 27 March, was renewed in its entirety.[2] Generally, however, a nucleus of old members was left undisturbed, possibly to act as guide to the newly appointed and inexperienced commissaires.

In order to discover the reasons for such wholesale changes we must first consider the political situation in the capital. During the summer of 1793 the sections had become powerful enough to challenge the authority, not only of the Convention but also of the Paris Commune. In particular, during the month of August, they had been stimulated by a severe food crisis to attack the Commune's leaders, Pache, Chaumette and Hébert, and to organize a dangerous agitation against the municipal authorities, culminating eventually in the uprising of 5 September. In the meantime, however, the politicians of the Hôtel de Ville, cleverly capturing the popular movement, set out to use the threatened insurrection for their own ends : the establishment of the

[1] A. Schmidt, *Tableaux de la Revolution Française*, ii. 26.
[2] Fr. 110, f. 15.

domination of the Commune and the 'Jacobin Left' over the Convention. To consolidate their position the Commune clique found it necessary to destroy the independence of the democratic sections. Measures to this effect were not difficult to extort from the Convention, whose members had long feared the power of the sections, and with good reason. On 5 September, at the height of the insurrection, two important decrees were proposed. By the first, which was not promulgated until the 9th, the meetings of the forty-eight General Assemblies were restricted to two *a week*. By the second, the General Council of the Commune was given the power to review all elections to the revolutionary committees, and even to make provisional appointments. The censurate was to be a powerful weapon in the hands of the Commune. It must not be assumed that the General Council had previously remained strictly aloof from the affairs of the sections in this respect; when, on 6 May, the Pont Neuf section had replaced its revolutionary committee, the Hôtel de Ville had intervened in favour of the dismissed commissaires and secured their reinstatement by force majeure.[1]

Similarly, when, on 23 August, Truchon of the Gravilliers section had complained to the General Council against the decision of the section, instigated by Jacques Roux, to replace both civil and revolutionary committees the Commune had again intervened to restore the dismissed commissaires.[2] Now, both might and right were on the side of the Commune, and the evidence of French 110 would seem to suggest that its leaders were not loth to seize the opportunity of filling the committees with their own creatures.

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the Hôtel de Ville was remarkably slow in taking advantage of the victory of 5 September. The precise terms of the Convention's decree had laid down that 'Il sera présenté dans le jour par les Comités de Salut Public de Paris la liste de leurs membres au Conseil Général de la Commune qui est autorisée de les épurer et d'en nommer des autres provisoirement'. In the course of the day the General Council did, in fact, write to each committee for a return of

[1] Schmidt, *op. cit.* i. 193.
[2] *Moniteur*, 24 August 1793.

members, to be accompanied by notes on each individual. It was also decided that the councillors representing the sections concerned should supplement such notes with personal observations.[1] But it was the 17 September before the Administration de Police was requested to hand over the list to the Commune,[2] and not until the 21st was a date fixed for the intended 'purification'.[3] The first date selected, 24 September, having proved to be unsatisfactory for some reason, the formal convocation of the committees was further postponed.[4] On the 26th it was decided that the purge should begin at 5 o'clock on Monday, 30 September.[5] On the 30th, therefore, the review of the membership of the revolutionary committees commenced,[6] although at least one secretary, Daubigny of the Tuileries section, refused to attend, or to furnish the Commune with any information.[7] The process seems to have lasted more than a week, for it was still incomplete on 8 October. According to the evidence of French 110 several sections underwent more or less slight changes in this period. Two members of the République Française committee [8] and one member of the Droits de l'Homme [9] were replaced on 1 October. Four new members were appointed to the Marat section committee,[10] and two to the Halle au Bled on the 2nd,[11] while the Montagne committee suffered the replacement of four commissaires on the 3rd.[12] These figures represent but a minute proportion of the 110 commissaires replaced between the beginning of September and the end of December. We must, therefore, seek outside this period of formal purgation for evidence of the Commune's intervention in the affairs of the sections and of the revolutionary committees. It is disappointing to find that so many changes of membership are merely noted without comment. Indeed, the only direct evidence of the Commune's

[1] *Moniteur*, 8 September 1793. [2] *Ibid.* 20 September 1793.
[3] *Ibid.* 24 September 1793. [4] *Ibid.* 27 September 1793.
[5] *Ibid.* 29 September 1793. [6] *Ibid.* 2 October 1793.
[7] The Commissaires de Police, the officers of the 'Force Armée' and the elective Paris Justices underwent a purge at the same time. Significantly, of the twenty-four J.P.s, only twelve survived the Commune's scrutiny (*Moniteur*, 9 Oct. 1793).
[8] Fr. 110, f. 20. [9] *Ibid.* f. 12. [10] *Ibid.* f. 23.
[11] *Ibid.* f. 29. [12] *Ibid.* f. 22.

use of the 'scrutin épuratoire' is provided by the émargement of the Marchés committee, whose secretary remarks that on 11 Brumaire (1 Nov. 1793) commissaire Lafosse was rejected by the Commune, to be replaced by Michel on the following day.[1] The list for the Sans-Culottes section, however, contains the following note: 'Ces 5 membres ont étté nomé [sic] par le Conseil Génér-al de la Commune' in reference to a minority group of commissaires.[2]

From a study of French 110 alone it is impossible to decide whether this procedure of direct nomination was general, or whether it merely represented an isolated instance. There is, however, a certain amount of evidence to be found elsewhere with a bearing on this question. On 4 October, according to Mellié's account, the General Council rejected the names of ten commissaires from a list of twelve supplied by the Gravilliers section. The section was not disposed to submit passively to such arbitrary conduct, and determined to fight the decision of the Commune in what may well have been a test case. On 20 October the General Assembly therefore requested the Commune to authorize a special session so that the citizens could elect their own revolutionary committee. The request was refused; the Commune remaining adamant, the section had no further redress.

The supremacy of the Commune was to be short-lived. The attack on the democratic organization of the sections proved to be but the first step towards the setting up of a dictatorship of the Montagnard and Robespierrist minority within the Convention. As early as 17 September, when the revolutionary committees were charged with the administration of the notorious 'Law of the Suspects', it was decided that they should henceforth correspond directly with the Conventional Committee of General Security. The Commune thus lost its status as intermediary, and the leaders of the Hôtel de Ville soon found to their dismay that the committees were escaping from their control. On 27 Brumaire (17 Nov. 1793) Pache, the Mayor, circularized the forty-eight committee presidents to suggest that they consult him

[1] Fr. 110, f. 28.

[2] *Ibid.* f. 24.

on all matters with which the Conventional Committee was not concerned. A fortnight later, in stronger vein, Chaumette, Procureur of the Commune, requested that the committees should communicate with the General Council concerning all matters of police or security, matters which were, in fact, within the province of the Committee of General Security. On 14 Frimaire (4 Dec. 1793) the Convention retaliated by passing Billaud-Varennes' decree threatening ten years in irons for any authority which dared to intervene between the Convention and the revolutionary committees. During the same session, the two Conventional Committees of Public Safety and General Security were empowered to purge and appoint to all constituted authorities within the Republic. The Commune could now be purified in the same way as the Gravilliers committee.

The manuscript at present under discussion gives little indication as to how far the composition of the revolutionary committees was affected by the law of 14 Frimaire. The émargement of the Brutus committee reveals the fact that its membership remained intact from 6 Brumaire (27 Oct. 1793) up to the end of Pluviôse An II (end of Feb. 1794).

From the beginning of Frimaire to the end of Pluviôse An II, a similar period, the revolutionary committee of the Homme Armée section did, in fact, lose three members by replacement, but no comment enlightens us as to the reasons for these changes, or the methods by which they were adopted. There were, incidentally, on 1 Ventôse, still two original members of the committee to claim their emolument.[1]

Mellié suggests that a method of recruitment commonly adopted at this period was for the committee collectively to co-opt new members, and to submit their names for approval to the General Council of the Commune. Such a procedure seems probable in view of the growing independence of the committees already observed in the matter of the authorization of accounts; only on comparatively rare occasions, such as the 'purification' of the Marat section after the abortive Hébertist 'putsch' of

[1] Fr. 110, ff. 9, 10.

Ventôse, would the Committee of Public Safety directly intervene in the affairs of a sectional committee. Such a crude exercise of power was hardly necessary when the committee had the power to purge the Commune itself. Moreover, as state servants, the commissaires now had a considerable vested interest in the Jacobin Régime, their paymaster and protector.

As 1794 progressed, Robespierre and his party came more and more to rely on the 40,000 revolutionary committees of France for the successful working of the revolutionary government. It was thus inevitable that they should incur a large measure of the hatred and hostility which its enemies felt for the régime. The Parisian committees did not long survive the overthrow of Robespierre. A Conventional decree of 7 Fructidor An II (24 Aug. 1794) replaced them by twelve new Arrondissement committees, thus striking a shrewd blow at the old, sectional loyalties. In Prairial An III even these committees lost the title 'revolutionary', to disappear irrevocably in Brumaire An IV.

During the period known as the 'Thermidorian Reaction' and especially after the unsuccessful 'Jacobin' revolt of Prairial An III, many of the former commissaires suffered persecution and imprisonment at the hands of their victorious enemies until, finally, in Vendémiaire An IV (on 16 Oct. 1795) the Convention was forced to intervene to protect them against further legal attack and imprisonment.

Many of the old committees had wisely taken certain precautions to avoid being brought to book for real or exaggerated misdeeds. On 11 Brumaire An III (1 Nov. 1794), for example, the members of the Bonnet Rouge committee appeared before the Criminal Tribunal of Paris, charged with having abstracted incriminating matter from the papers of the committee prior to handing them over to the new authority.[1] Almost immediately after the fall of Robespierre there had been an anxious scramble on the part of the servants of the régime to cover up their traces. The lists contained in French 110, which would surely have provided a fruitful and fascinating object of study for the police of the Thermidorian Convention, the Directory, or even the

[1] A. Soboul, 'Les Papiers des Sections', ap. *Annales Historiques de la Revolution Française*, N.S., xxii (1950), 97.

Consulate, may conceivably have been removed from their rightful place by an amicably disposed official, not to re-emerge again into the full light of day until the nineteenth century was well advanced. This, it must be admitted, is mere surmise, for we do know how the twenty-nine émargements found their way into the collection of the Earl of Crawford, from which, in 1930, they passed into the keeping of a Manchester Library.

THE COVENANTERS OF DAMASCUS AND THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS [1]

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INNUMERABLE articles in the newspapers and journals of the whole world have been devoted to the discovery of manuscripts in Palestine in 1947,[2] and it is quite unnecessary for me to repeat the story here.[3] Amongst the manuscripts which have come to light there are Biblical and non-Biblical texts. There

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on Wednesday, the 13th of February, 1952. The following abbreviations are used in the footnotes below: *A.J.Th.* = *American Journal of Theology*; *B.A.* = *Biblical Archaeologist*; *B.A.S.O.R.* = *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*; *Bi.Or.* = *Bibliotheca Orientalis*; *B.W.* = *Biblical World*; *C.A.H.* = *Cambridge Ancient History*; *E.R.E.* = *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*; *E.T.* = *Expository Times*; *H.T.R.* = *Harvard Theological Review*; *H.U.C.A.* = *Hebrew Union College Annual*; *I.L.N.* = *Illustrated London News*; *J.B.L.* = *Journal of Biblical Literature*; *J.E.O.L.* = *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux*; *J.Q.R.* = *Jewish Quarterly Review*; *J.T.S.* = *Journal of Theological Studies*; *J.T.V.I.* = *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute*; *M.G.W.J.* = *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*; *N.R.Th.* = *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*; *O.L.Z.* = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*; *P.W.* = Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll-Witte, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertums-Wissenschaft*; *P.E.Q.* = *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*; *P.S.B.A.* = *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*; *R.B.* = *Revue Biblique*; *R.E.J.* = *Revue des Études Juives*; *R.H.R.* = *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*; *R.Th.Ph.* = *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie*; *S.D.B.* = *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*; *Th.L.Z.* = *Theologische Literaturzeitung*; *Th.R.* = *Theologische Rundschau*; *T.S.K.* = *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*; *T.T.* = *Theologisch Tijdschrift*; *V.T.* = *Vetus Testamentum*; *Z.A.W.* = *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*; *Z.D.M.G.* = *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*; *Z.N.W.* = *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*; *Z.R.G.G.* = *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*.

[2] For more recent discoveries, made early in 1952, cf. *Manchester Guardian* (7 April 1952), and *Le Monde* (9 April 1952).

[3] Cf. A. Dupont-Sommer, *Aperçus préliminaires sur les manuscrits de la Mer Morte*, 1950 (English tr. by E. Margaret Rowley, 1952), for a fuller general account of the Scrolls than can be found gathered elsewhere in English Some of Dupont-Sommer's views about the Scrolls have been criticized, and are not accepted in the present paper, while others are here adopted.

is a complete text of the book of Isaiah [1] and an incomplete text of the same book.[2] There is also a manuscript containing the first two chapters of the book of Habakkuk, together with a commentary on the text.[3] In addition there are fragments of the book of Daniel [4] and of several other books of the Old Testament, and amongst these are some fragments of the book of

[1] This has been published in full in facsimile and transcription, *The Isaiah Manuscript and the Habakkuk Commentary*, edited by M. Burrows, J. C. Trever, and W. H. Brownlee, 1950.

[2] This is in the hands of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and so far little of it has been published. Cf. E. L. Sukenik, *Megillôth Genûzôth*, vol. ii (1950), Plate XVII. A full edition of all the texts in the hands of the Hebrew University is in preparation, and this will contain superb plates of all the texts.

[3] This has been published in full in facsimile and transcription in the volume mentioned above in note 1. Translations of this text have been published by W. H. Brownlee, *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 112 (Dec. 1948), pp. 8 ff.; A Dupont-Sommer, *R.H.R.* cxxxvii (1950), 129 ff.; J. van der Ploeg, *Bi.Or.* viii (1951), 5 ff.; H. E. del Medico, *Deux manuscrits hébreux de la Mer Morte* (1951), pp. 109 ff.; and M. Delcor, *Essai sur le Midrash d'Habucuc* (1951), pp. 20 ff. The question whether this is rightly to be called a commentary has been much discussed, and some have preferred the term Midrash. Actually it is neither like an ordinary Midrash, nor like the usual commentaries on Scripture books. It consists rather of an application of the Scripture text to contemporary events, and of an often forced interpretation of the text in terms of those events. Cf. G. Vermès, *Cahiers Sioniens*, v (1951), 341; R. Eisler, *The Modern Churchman*, xxxix (1949), 287. In the commentary the word *pesher* is used. This word is found in Biblical Hebrew only in Eccles. viii. 1, where many modern editors, following Ibn Ezra, hold that it is an Aramaism. The same word stands in the Aramaic part of the book of Daniel, where it is used sometimes of the interpretation of a dream, like the Hebrew word *pithrôn* (so Brown-Driver-Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (1906), p. 837*b*) or *pittārôn* (so Gesenius-Buhl, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*, 17th ed. (1921), p. 669*b*, and E. König, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*, 7th ed. (1936), p. 379*b*), but sometimes of the interpretation of the writing on the wall, in Dan. v. P. R. Weis, *J.Q.R.*, N.S. xli (1950-51), 120 ff., argues that its use in the *Habakkuk Commentary* without reference to a dream is a reflection of Arabic influence through Ḳaraite literature, but in view of the use of Dan. v it is not necessary to resort to such a view. The word seems to mean the interpretation of any mystery. Cf. G. Vermès, *Cahiers Sioniens*, v (1951), 340 f. In Accadian *pašīru* and *pišru* are used of the interpretation of signs and omens. Cf. A. Deimel, *Akkadisch-Šumerisches Glossar* (1937), p. 360*b*.

[4] Three fragments of Daniel were taken to America with the scrolls in the hands of the Syrian Patriarch. Cf. G. E. Wright, *B.A.* xii (1949), 33. A. Dupont-Sommer, *Aperçus préliminaires*, p. 23 (E. Tr., p. 17) says that the owners of seventeen fragments of Daniel are known, but there are certainly some others.

Leviticus written in the old character.[1] With none of these am I particularly concerned in this lecture, though it will be necessary to bear some of them in mind. My concern is more especially with the non-Biblical texts. These include the *Commentary on Habakkuk*[2] already mentioned, the *Manual of Discipline*,[3] the *War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness*,[4] and the *Hymns of Praise*.[5] There is also an unopened scroll which is believed to contain the lost *Book of Lamech*.[6] Of the last of these little is yet known. The text of the *Habakkuk Commentary*

[1] On these cf. R. de Vaux, *R.B.* lvi (1949), 597 ff. ; W. F. Albright, *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 118 (Apr. 1950), p. 6 ; S. A. Birnbaum, *ibid.* pp. 20 ff. ; S. Yeivin, *ibid.* pp. 28 ff. ; D. Diringer, *P.E.Q.* (1950), pp. 20 ff. ; S. A. Birnbaum, *V.T.* i (1951), 106 f. ; S. Mowinckel, *Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift*, lii (1951), 252 ff.

[2] I. Rabinowitz, *B.A.* xiv (1951), 50 ff., thinks that fragments of a similar commentary on Ps. cvii were found in the cave. Some fragments of the *Book of Jubilees* were also found. Cf. R. de Vaux, *R.B.* lvi (1949), 597, 602 ff. J. T. Milik has suggested that another fragment is a part of the *Book of Enoch*. Cf. *Biblica*, xxxii (1951), 393 ff. Fragments of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* are also said to be among the finds. Cf. W. H. Brownlee, *B.A.* xiii (1950), 51 n.

[3] This has been published in full, in facsimile and transcription, in *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery*, vol. II, Fasc. 2 : *Plates and Transcription of the Manual of Discipline*, edited by M. Burrows, J. C. Trever, and W. H. Brownlee, 1951. Translations of this text have been published by J. van der Ploeg, *Bi.Or.* viii (1951), 115 ff. ; W. H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline* (Supplementary Studies of *B.A.S.O.R.*, Nos. 10-12, 1951) ; H. E. del Medico, *Deux Manuscrits hébreux de la Mer Morte* (1951), pp. 31 ff. ; G. Lambert, *Le Manuel de Discipline du Désert de Juda* (1951) (reprinted from *N.R.Th.* lxxiii (1951), 938 ff.). On this text cf. also M. Burrows, *Oudtestamentische Studiën*, viii (1950), 156 ff.

[4] Parts of this text have been published in facsimile and transcription, in E. L. Sukenik, *Megillôth Genûzôth*, i (1948), Plates VIII and IX, and pp. 18 ff. ; ii (1950), Plate XI, and pp. 51 ff.

[5] Parts of this text have been published in facsimile and transcription, in E. L. Sukenik, *Megillôth Genûzôth*, i (1948), Plates X-XIII, and pp. 27 ff. ; ii (1950), Plates VII-X, and pp. 32 ff. Cf. M. Wallenstein, *Hymns of the Judean Scrolls* (1950), G. Lambert, *N.R.Th.* lxxi (1949), 621 ff., and G. Vermès, *Cahiers Sioniens*, No. 11 (Sept. 1950), pp. 178 ff.

[6] Cf. J. C. Trever, *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 115 (Oct. 1949), pp. 8 ff. ; O. Eissfeldt, *Th.L.Z.* lxxv (1950), cols. 23 ff. ; G. Lambert, *N.R.Th.* lxxii (1950), 493 ff. On the lost *Book of Lamech* cf. Th. Zahn, *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, ii (1890), 292 ; G. F. Moore, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, ii (1902), 4 ; E. Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, Div. II, iii (1890), 151 ; M. R. James, *The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament* (1920), p. xii. J. T. Milik suggests the possibility that the unopened scroll is the lost *Book of Noah*. Cf. *Biblica*, xxxii (1951), 400.

and of the *Manual of Discipline* has been published in full in facsimile and transcription, while of the other two texts only parts have been published.[1]

All of these texts are said to have come from a cave near the Dead Sea,[2] and although doubt has been cast on this by Professor Zeitlin[3] there seems little reason to doubt it. An accidental discovery by Bedouin[4] brought some of these finds to light, and from them they came into the hands of dealers, who sold some to St. Mark's Monastery and others to the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. It is possible that other texts are still in the hands of dealers, and certain that some of the fragments of Daniel are in various hands. Eighteen months after the first find the cave was excavated by archaeologists,[5] who found many of the smaller

[1] See references in the preceding notes. There is no space here to give references to the vast number of articles in various journals of the world where these texts have been discussed.

[2] The cave is situated at 'Ain Feshkha, close to Khirbet Qumrân which has been more recently excavated. For maps showing the precise spot where 'Ain Feshkha is located, cf. E. L. Sukenik, *Megillôth Genûzôth*, ii (1950), 16; O. Eissfeldt, *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, xxv (1949), 302; A. Dupont-Sommer, *Aperçus préliminaires*, p. 7 (E. Tr. facing p. 9).

[3] Cf. *J.Q.R.*, N.S. xl (1949-50), 57 ff., 291 ff., 373 ff.; xli (1950-51), 1 ff., 251 ff., and *Crozer Quarterly*, xxvi (1950), 35 ff. That there have been many discrepancies of detail in the accounts that have been given is undeniable, and it is well that they should be scrutinized and not accepted uncritically. Nevertheless, there seems to be no doubt whatever that the Scrolls came from the cave and that they are genuinely ancient documents, and not documents which had been deliberately placed there. Several scholars have replied to Professor Zeitlin's scepticism. Cf. I. Sonne, *J.B.L.* lxx (1951), 37 ff., E. L. Sukenik, *The Jewish Chronicle*, 26 Nov. 1950, and M. Burrows, *J.Q.R.*, N.S. xlii (1951-52), 105 ff. To these Zeitlin replied in *J.Q.R.*, N.S. xlii. 133 ff.

[4] These Bedouin were of the Ta 'āmire tribe, on which cf. M. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, ii (1943), 74 ff. On the earlier activities of this tribe in searching caves and marketing their finds through Bethlehem dealers, as in the present case, cf. L.-H. Vincent, *R.B.* liv (1947), 269.

[5] G. Lankester Harding and R. de Vaux were the archaeologists. Their accounts will be found in *I.L.N.* (1 Oct. 1949), p. 493, and *P.E.Q.* (1949), pp. 112 ff. (Harding), and *R.B.* lvi (1949), 234 ff., 586 ff., and *La Vie Intellectuelle* (June 1949), pp. 583 ff. (de Vaux). The Belgian U.N.O. observer, Captain Ph. Lippens, who had a share in the arranging of this excavation, has published his account *apud* G. Lambert, *Revue Générale Belge* (1949-50), pp. 413 ff., and this stands in German translation by O. Eissfeldt, *Th.L.Z.* lxxv (1950), cols. 145 ff. Cf. also G. Lambert, *N.R.Th.* lxxii (1950), 53 ff. For further accounts of these excavations cf. O. R. Sellers, *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 114 (Apr. 1949), pp. 5 ff., and

fragments, and who found in the cave fragments of some of the actual manuscripts which were sold by the dealers and which were said to have come from this cave.[1] In the cave fragments of some forty jars were found and the archaeologists who examined the cave, Lankester Harding and Father de Vaux, pronounced these jars to be late Hellenistic.[2] Professor Sukenik has published photographs of two jars [3] which came into his hands from the dealers and which are said to have come from the same cave, and they are of similar type and date.[4] Father de Vaux would date the pottery with great precision as coming from the end of the second century B.C., or at the very latest from the early part of the first century B.C.[5] There were in the cave some

B.A. xii (1949), 54 ff.; G. E. Wright, *B.A.* xii (1949), 32 ff., 64 ff.; G. Lambert, *Revue Générale Belge* (1949-50), pp. 405 ff.; A. Dupont-Sommer, *Aperçus préliminaires*, pp. 11 ff. (E. Tr., pp. 9 ff.); P. Kahle, *Die hebräischen Handschriften aus der Höhle* (1951), pp. 10 ff., 53 ff.

[1] Cf. O. R. Sellers, *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 114 (Apr. 1949), p. 7; R. de Vaux, *La Vie Intellectuelle* (June 1949), p. 588.

[2] Cf. R. de Vaux, *R.B.* lvi (1949), 234, 586 ff.; G. L. Harding, *I.L.N.*, *loc. cit.* and *P.E.Q.* (1949), p. 113; Cf. also O. R. Sellers, *B.A.* xii (1949), 55; G. E. Wright, *ibid.* p. 64.

[3] Cf. *Megillôth Genûzôth*, ii (1950), Plate I, also p. 17. It may be noted that J. T. Milik has published photographs of some Egyptian jars dating from about 100 B.C. which are strikingly similar to the jars from 'Ain Feshkha. Cf. *Biblica*, xxxi (1950), 504 ff. and Plate facing p. 508.

[4] Cf. the reconstructed jar made from fragments found in the cave, published in *I.L.N.* (1 Oct. 1949), p. 495, with Sukenik's two jars.

[5] Cf. *R.B.* lvi (1949), 595 (also p. 236), and lviii (1951), 439. W. F. Albright would date the pottery somewhat later than de Vaux, and would allow a date 'well down in the first century B.C.' Cf. *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 115 (Oct. 1949), p. 13 n. and his postscript to W. H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline* (1951), pp. 57 ff., and *The Old Testament and Modern Study* (edited by H. H. Rowley) (1951), p. 23. A. Parrot, in A. Lods, *Histoire de la littérature hébraïque et juive* (1950), pp. 1031 f., is doubtful of the security of the dating of the jars. While the precision of the dating may be doubted, it may be agreed that only reasonable margins can be allowed, and the identification of the jars as late Hellenistic in type, on which the experts are agreed, cannot be disputed. Cf. de Vaux, *La Vie Intellectuelle* (Apr. 1951), p. 63, where it is agreed that a margin of some decades may be allowed, but added that this tolerance cannot be extended indefinitely. More recently, in view of the discoveries of 1952, when a similar jar was found sunk in the floor in a building which was excavated at Khirbet Qumrân, where also a number of coins of the first century A.D. were found, de Vaux has retracted his view that the Dead Sea Scrolls must have been deposited in the cave c. 100 B.C. Cf. *Manchester Guardian* (7 April 1952) and *Le Monde* (9 April 1952).

remains from the Roman period, including a lamp and some sherds.[1]

The forty jars the cave once contained were capable of holding between 150 and 200 scrolls,[2] and the number of fragments of texts found there provided evidence that there were once far more than the small number of scrolls which have recently come to light.

Much of the discussion that has gathered round these texts has been concerned with questions of dating. Here three separate questions arise. When were the non-Biblical texts composed? When were the various manuscripts, Biblical and non-Biblical, copied? When were the manuscripts deposited in the cave? For the first of these we need to examine the contents of the manuscripts, to see what indications of date they contain. For the second palaeographical considerations are important. For the third the archaeological evidence is relevant. Unfortunately none of the evidence is as clear as we should like to see it, and conclusions that go far beyond the evidence have been drawn.

The archaeologists would make the date of the jars regulative for the whole discussion. De Vaux has maintained that the jars were made to hold these particular manuscripts at the time of the hiding in the cave, and therefore none of the texts could have been copied later than the end of the second century B.C., or the beginning of the first century.[3] The composition of the non-Biblical works would also be placed before this date. This conclusion clearly goes beyond the evidence. There is no proof whatever that the jars were made at the time of the hiding, or that they were made specifically to hold these particular

[1] Cf. O. R. Sellers, *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 114 (Apr. 1949), p. 8; G. E. Wright, *B.A.* xii (1949), 32; G. L. Harding, *I.L.N.* (1 Oct. 1949), p. 493.

[2] Cf. R. de Vaux, *R.B.* lvi (1949), 593; G. L. Harding, *loc. cit.* W. F. Albright thinks there were 200 or more manuscripts originally. Cf. *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 115 (Oct. 1950), p. 13.

[3] Cf. *R.B.* lvi (1949), 595. So also J. Leveen, Letter to *The Times*, 26 August 1949. Since this lecture was delivered de Vaux has withdrawn this view, and has recognized that jars of this type continued in use until the first century A.D. Cf. *Manchester Guardian* (7 April 1952) and *Le Monde* (9 April 1952).

manuscripts.[1] The Roman lamp and sherds are held to have been left by persons who entered the cave at a later date, and in this connection may writers have referred to Origen.[2] At the beginning of the third century of the Christian era we know that a Greek manuscript was found in a jar in or near Jericho,[3] and it is assumed that it was found in this cave and that Origen himself visited it. Actually in the texts that tell us of this there is no mention of a cave or of Origen's personal sight of the jar in which the text was found,[4] and there is no reason whatever to suppose that Origen visited the cave. Nor is there any evidence that the lamp and sherds come from a time subsequent to the deposit of the jars in the cave, and there are scholars of eminence who believe that these give important evidence of the date of the deposit.[5]

[1] Cf. M. Burrows, *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 122 (Apr. 1951), p. 5: 'The ceramic evidence cannot tell us how old the manuscripts were when they were placed in the jars, nor how old the jars were when the manuscripts were placed in them'. Cf. also G. R. Driver, *The Hebrew Scrolls* (1951), pp. 23 f.

[2] E. L. Sukenik, *Megillôth Genûzôth*, i (1948), 15; G. E. Wright, *B.A.* xii (1949), 32, 64 f.; F. M. Cross, *ibid.* p. 38; R. J. Tournay, *R.B.* lvi (1949), 205; G. L. Harding, *I.L.N.*, *loc. cit.*; O. R. Sellers, *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 114 (Apr. 1950), p. 9; W. F. Albright, *ibid.* No. 115 (Oct. 1950), p. 12; F. Nötscher, *Palästina-hefte*, No. 40-42, v (1950), 10.

[3] Cf. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 16, and Origen's own words, in Mercati, *Studi e Testi*, v (1901), 29. Translations of the passages are given in P. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* (1947), pp. 160 ff. Both of these accounts agree in mentioning the finding of texts in a jar, but Eusebius says it was in Jericho and Origen near Jericho, but neither mentions a cave. Cf. G. R. Driver, *J.Q.R.*, N.S. xl (1949-50), 367 f.; *The Hebrew Scrolls* (1951), pp. 24 f.

[4] Neither account says that Origen visited the spot in or near Jericho where the texts were found. W. Baumgartner, *Th.R.*, N.F. xix (1951), 112, is doubtful of the suggestion that Origen visited the cave. Certainly if a large number of Hebrew as well as some Greek manuscripts had been found in the cave in Origen's time, we should have expected some reference to this fact, and especially if Origen himself had visited it. B. J. Roberts observes that it is doubtful if so essentially Jewish a sect as the Sect of the Scrolls would have been interested in Greek texts, such as the Sexta, to which Origen and Eusebius refer. Cf. *Z.A.W.* (N.F. xxi), lii (1949-50), 227.

[5] R. de Vaux maintains with insistence that these Roman remains date the violation of the cave. Cf. *La Vie Intellectuelle* (Apr. 1951), p. 63. P. Kahle, on the other hand, thinks they indicate the date of the original deposit. Cf. *V.T.* i (1951), 41. Cf. also S. Zeitlin, *J.Q.R.*, N.S. xl (1949-50), 73 f., where it is held that we may legitimately assume that someone brought the manuscripts into the cave in the Roman period. Yet actually Zeitlin does not think the Scrolls

Birnbaum would make the palaeographical evidence regulative of the entire discussion.[1] He brushes aside all study of the contents of the texts as subjective, and claims that palaeography is an exact science which enables him to date every text with precision.[2] The paucity of material available for this purpose is frankly acknowledged by others.[3] Moreover, the *Nash Papyrus* must figure largely in any discussion of the palaeography.[4] Yet

were written until long after the Roman period, and believes that all the things the archaeologists found in the cave had been but recently placed there. In view of the 1952 finds, de Vaux has now agreed that the Roman remains date the deposit and not a subsequent entry into the cave. Cf. *Manchester Guardian* (7 April 1952) and *Le Monde* (9 April 1952).

[1] Cf. *J.T.V.I.* lxxxii (1950), 145, where the archaeological evidence and the study of the contents are depreciated, and it is held that the decisive evidence is the palaeographical. Cf. also *J.B.L.* lxx (1951), 227 ff.

[2] For Birnbaum's studies of the palaeography cf. *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 113 (Feb. 1949), pp. 33 ff.; No. 115 (Oct. 1949), pp. 20 ff.; *P.E.Q.* (1949), pp. 140 ff.; *J.B.L.* lxviii (1949), 161 ff.; *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 118 (Apr. 1950), pp. 20 ff.; *V.T.* i (1951), 91 ff. Amongst the many other palaeographical studies of the manuscripts cf. J. C. Trever, *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 111 (Oct. 1948), pp. 3 ff., No. 113 (Feb. 1949), pp. 6 ff., and *J.J.S.* ii, No. 4 (1951), 195 ff. (cf. J. L. Teicher, *ibid.* pp. 200 ff.); O. Eissfeldt, *Th.L.Z.* lxxiv (1949), cols. 226 ff.; E. R. Lacheman, *J.Q.R.*, N.S. xl (1949-50), 15 ff. (cf. W. F. Albright, *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 115 (Oct. 1949), pp. 10 ff., and E. R. Lacheman, *ibid.* pp. 17 f.); S. Yeivin, *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 118 (Apr. 1950), pp. 28 ff.; J. van der Ploeg, *J.E.O.L.*, No. 11 (1949-50), pp. 48 ff.; M. Burrows, *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 122 (Apr. 1951), pp. 4 ff.; B. Kanael, *Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society*, xvi (1951), 46 ff.

[3] Cf. G. Vermès, *Cahiers Sioniens*, No. 11 (Sept. 1950), p. 178: 'L'argument paléographique n'était pas, ne pouvait pas être apodictique à cause du nombre très restreint des documents susceptibles de fournir des termes de comparaison'. Cf. M. Burrows, *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 122 (Apr. 1951), p. 4: 'Its adequacy is limited by the fact that the amount of definitely datable materials for comparison is not as abundant as might be wished. No contemporary Hebrew manuscripts are extant. The available specimens of Hebrew writing which can be considered contemporary with the Dead Sea Scrolls consist almost entirely of brief inscriptions on graffiti, and they cannot be dated precisely. Under these circumstances palaeography can establish only a general range of possibilities, with some elasticity at both ends.' J. Schirmann, *Semitica*, ii (1949), 42, thinks that all we can say on palaeographical grounds is that the manuscripts are ancient and not medieval. Cf. also G. R. Driver, *The Hebrew Scrolls* (1951), pp. 30 ff. (p. 31 n.: 'Attempts to fix dates so closely on grounds of script alone betray a naïve and exaggerated view of the possibilities of palaeography; this deals not in years or even often in decades but most commonly in centuries').

[4] In the Cambridge University Library. Trever, *B.A.* xi (1948), 47, wrongly stated that this was in the 'Manchester Library', and this has led some to locate it in the John Rylands Library. More recently *B.A.* (Sept. 1951) has published

the *Nash Papyrus* is itself of disputed date. That Papyrus was first published at the beginning of this century. It contains the text of the Decalogue and of some verses from Deuteronomy vi. When it first came to light it was dated in the first or second century A.D.,[1] and was even dated so late as the sixth century A.D.[2] Shortly before the late war, however, Albright dated it in the second century B.C.,[3] though he has more recently assigned it to the first century B.C.[4] No particular date for the *Nash Papyrus* can be taken as fixed and final, and still less can it be used to give a fixed and final date for any other text whose date is determined in relation to it. Further, the dates for our texts assigned by Birnbaum with so much precision differ from these assigned by others on palaeographical grounds, and based on the same evidence as his own dates.[5] Moreover, he would assign

a photograph of Solomon Schechter studying Genizah material at 'the *Bodleian* Library at Cambridge'. It is improbable that Oxford University will consent to this removal of its Library to Cambridge.

[1] F. C. Burkitt, *J.Q.R.* xv (1903), 392 ff., xvi (1904), 559 ff., assigned it to the first century A.D.; Cardinal E. Tisserant, *Initiation Biblique*, edited by A. Robert and A. Tricot (1939), p. 76 (2nd ed., 1948, p. 82) to c. A.D. 100; R. H. Charles, *The Decalogue* (1923), pp. xiii ff., to the end of the first century A.D. or the beginning of the second; S. A. Cook, *P.S.B.A.* xxv (1903), 34 ff., and *E.T.* xiv (1902-03), 200 ff., to the second century A.D., and similarly I. Lévi, *R.E.J.* xlvi (1903), 212 ff., X, *R.B.* (N.S. i), xiii (1904), 242 ff., and E. R. Lacheman, *J.Q.R.*, N.S. xl (1949-50), 31.

[2] G. Margoliouth, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, viii (1904), 304*b*, 312*b*, assigned it to the sixth or seventh century A.D.

[3] Cf. *J.B.L.* lvi (1937), 145 ff. Similarly S. A. Birnbaum, *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 115 (Oct. 1949), p. 22, ascribes it to about the beginning of the second century B.C.

[4] Cf. *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 113 (Feb. 1949), p. 18 n.: 'in the late Maccabaean period, but well before Herod's accession in 37 B.C. (plus or minus, of course)'; p. 23 n.: 'somewhere about 50 B.C.'. Cf. also *ibid.* No. 115 (Oct. 1949), p. 19: 'not later than the first half of the first century B.C.'. Similarly M. Noth, *Die Welt des Alten Testaments* (1940), p. 208, dates it in the pre-Herodian period, while J. C. Trever, *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 113 (Feb. 1949), p. 19, ascribes it to the period 50-35 B.C. S. Mowinckel, *Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift*, lii (1951), 253, assigns it to the second half of the first century B.C.

[5] Birnbaum puts the *terminus ad quem* for all the manuscripts in the middle of the first century B.C. and dates the St. Mark's *Isaiah Scroll* 175-150 B.C., the *Manual of Discipline* 125-100 B.C., and the *Habakkuk Commentary* c. 50 B.C. J. C. Trever assigns the manuscripts to about half a century later, placing the *Isaiah Scroll* 125-100 B.C., the *Manual of Discipline* c. 75 B.C., and the *Habakkuk Commentary* and the *Lamech Scroll* between 25 B.C. and A.D. 25. P. Kahle dates

some of the texts to a later date than de Vaux puts as the date of the deposit in the cave. The archaeological and palaeographical assurance, therefore, lead to divergent conclusions.

It should further be noted that the complete *Isaiah Scroll* shows evidence of having been used for a long time. The marks of handling over a long period are evident,[1] and the scroll has had to be repaired.[2] There have been additions by other hands than the original copyist's.[3] One of these additions shows some development in the writing of the alphabet.[4] As is well known some of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet have a different form for final and for initial or medial use. In the *Isaiah Scroll* we find no final form for the letter *Pê* save in this single addition, which may therefore be from a later hand. Professor Kahle would date this addition not earlier than the second century A.D.,[5] partly on the basis of this letter, though as he dates the *Nash Papyrus*, which also has this final letter, before this [6] we do not need to

the *Habakkuk Commentary* before A.D. 70, but the *Isaiah Scroll* not before the second century A.D. Cf. *V.T.* i (1951), 38 ff. E. R. Lacheman holds that the manuscripts are of medieval origin. It should be plain that palaeography is not the exact science that Birnbaum claims, unless he also wishes to claim that he is the only person who understands this science. S. Zeitlin, *J.Q.R.*, N.S. xlii (1951-52), 150, has drawn attention to the extreme speed with which J. C. Trever claims to have mastered this science. According to Trever's own confession, when he first saw the scrolls on Thursday 19 February 1948, the script looked strange to his inexperienced eyes. Cf. *B.A.* xi (1948), 47. Yet by the following Tuesday he claims to have been able to tell by a passing glance in the library of the Syrian monastery that a manuscript was an eighteenth-century Ashkenazic manuscript with characteristic German palaeography. Cf. *J.Q.R.*, N.S. xlii (1951-52), 123.

[1] Cf. the photograph in E. L. Sukenik, *Megillôth Genûzôth*, ii (1950), Plate XV.

[2] Cf. J. C. Trever, *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 111 (Oct. 1948), pp. 5, 7.

[3] Cf. *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery*, vol. I: *The Isaiah Manuscript and the Habakkuk Commentary* (1950), Plates XXVIII, XXX-XXXIII.

[4] Isa. xxxiv. 17-xxxv. 2 has been added in a different hand in a space which had been left blank. Cf. *ibid.* Plate XXVIII. Why the space was left blank can only be conjectured, but it would seem that the copyist knew of the missing verses, but had not their text before him. Possibly the manuscript from which he copied was mutilated or illegible.

[5] Cf. *Th.L.Z.* lxxv (1950), col. 539; *V.T.* i (1951), 40; *Die hebräischen Handschriften aus der Höhle* (1951), p. 58.

[6] Cf. *ibid.* p. 6, where the *Nash Papyrus* is dated before the Destruction of the Temple in A.D. 70. S. Zeitlin, *J.Q.R.*, N.S. xl (1949-50), 64 f. n., holds that the final letters came into vogue in the second half of the second century A.D.

come down so late on this ground.[1] We must, however, allow for a long period of use of the manuscript, and a period of about a century has been suggested.[2] It may have been even longer than this, since we have no means of knowing how frequently the manuscript was used.

Attention has been drawn to the ruling and the paragraphing [3] of the Isaiah manuscript, but no conclusive results can be based on these. Similarly the ink [4] has been analysed without yielding much help. Some of the linen found in the cave has been

On the other hand, J. Leveen, in a Letter to *The Times*, 7 May 1951, argues that the fluid use of *Mêm* in the *Isaiah Scroll* enables us to date the manuscript well before the fall of Jerusalem. His argument is that in the Massoretic text we have a single instance of final *Mêm* in the middle of a word (Isa. ix. 6), and a single instance of a medial *Mêm* at the end of a word (Neh. ii. 13), while according to Rabbinical tradition the Severus Codex of the Torah, which Titus carried to Rome, had five words ending in a medial *Mêm*. In the *Isaiah Scroll* there are many cases of medial *Mêm* at the end of a word and of final *Mêm* in the middle of a word. Zeitlin, *loc. cit.* discounts the traditions on which Leveen relies as untrustworthy.

[1] The present writer is doubtful how far we can press this argument based on final letters. If it is pressed then the whole basis of the argument that makes any of the Scrolls younger than the *Nash Papyrus* is demolished. For all the final letters are used properly in that text. The *Habakkuk Commentary* uses the final *Pê*, and also the final *Kaph* and *Ṣādhê*, and according to the table given by Trever in *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 113 (Feb. 1949), pp. 20 f., final *Kaph* and *Pê* are found in the fragment of the *Lamech Scroll* so far unrolled, though neither final *Mêm* nor final *Ṣādhê* occurs there. If there was a period of the fluid use of the final and medial forms, it might be due to the particular scribe's preference, or even caprice, as to which was employed. O. H. Lehmann, *P.E.Q.* (1951), p. 35, suggests the possibility of a deliberate archaistic non-use of final letters. This does not seem convincing, since none of the Scrolls is without any final letters.

[2] Even advocates of the second century B.C. date for the original preparation of this manuscript have been willing to allow that some of these additions may have been made a century later. Thus J. C. Trever dates the *Isaiah Scroll* 125-100 B.C., and the additions between 25 B.C. and A.D. 25. Cf. *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 113 (Feb. 1949), p. 23.

[3] Cf. G. R. Driver, Letters to *The Times*, 23 and 30 August, 22 September 1949, *J.Q.R.*, N.S. xl (1949-50), 129, *Hibbert Journal*, xlix (1950-51), 18, and *The Hebrew Scrolls* (1951), pp. 28 ff., 43 ff.; E. R. Lacheman, *J.Q.R.*, N.S. xl (1949-50), 34 ff.; J. Leveen, Letter to *The Times*, 5 September 1949.

[4] Cf. G. R. Driver, Letter to *The Times*, 22 September 1949, *J.Q.R.*, *loc. cit.* pp. 134, 359, and *The Hebrew Scrolls*, p. 28; H. J. Plenderleith, *J.T.V.I.* lxxxii (1950), 146 f.; G. Lambert, *N.R.Th.* lxxii (1950), 505; S. A. Birnbaum, *V.T.* i (1951), 97 f.

examined,[1] but while it is not without interest it does not help in the dating of the deposit. Some of the linen has been subjected to the radiocarbon test,[2] but this is not very helpful. It is claimed that it yields a date not more than two hundred years before or after A.D. 33.[3] It is doubtful how secure this date is, since only a single test appears to have been made,[4] but even if it is secure the range of 400 years is of more use to exclude certain dates than to establish any date for the deposit in the cave. The radiocarbon test, the palaeographical evidence and the archaeological evidence would all appear to rule out the view that some of the non-Biblical works found amongst the Scrolls were first composed in the Middle Ages.[5]

It seems to me desirable that every aspect of the Scrolls should be studied with the utmost care and with complete

[1] Cf. Louisa Bellinger, *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 118 (Apr. 1950), pp. 10 f; G. M. Crowfoot, *P.E.Q.* (1951), pp. 5 ff.

[2] Cf. *Manchester Guardian*, 30 January 1951; O. R. Sellers, *B.A.* xiv (1951), 29. On the radiocarbon method of dating, cf. A. Bauchau, *N.R.Th.* lxxii (1950), 515 ff.; D. Collier, *B.A.* xiv (1951), 25 ff.; W. G. Guindon, *C.B.Q.* xiii (1951), 268 ff.; F. E. Zeuner, *The Listener*, 28 June 1951, pp. 1053 f.

[3] It was at first inaccurately stated that this meant that the linen comes from the period 167 B.C. to A.D. 233. Since there was no year 0, it should be from 168 B.C., as Sellers has since noted. Cf. *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 123 (Oct. 1951), p. 25.

[4] G. E. Wright, *B.A.* xiv (1951) 31 ff., cites a case where three tests were made on a single piece of wood, where the dates yielded were within a range of 270 years on either side from 746 B.C., 698 B.C., and 289 B.C. It is clear that at least one of these tests was quite unreliable, and since but one test was made in the case of the linen of the Scrolls, we have no means of knowing whether this was similarly unreliable.

[5] While it has been said that palaeography is not an exact science that can define the age of manuscripts of the centuries immediately before and after the beginning of the Christian era with precision, it is hard to think that the Dead Sea Scrolls are of anything like so recent a date as the manuscripts of the *Zadokite Work*, which will be discussed below. These are dated in the tenth century in one case, and the eleventh or twelfth century in the other. Again, while the date of the deposit cannot be determined with security from the age of the jars, since the jars could be older than some or all of the manuscripts that were placed in them, it would be very surprising if manuscripts which were copies of works first written in the Middle Ages should all be hidden in jars which belonged to a collection of similar jars, all more than a thousand years old. Further, while the radiocarbon test cannot be implicitly trusted, it would be surprising if it erred by so great a margin as the medieval theory would require. And since the cumulative force of all three of these surprises would add enormously to their surprising character, it may be said that the medieval theory is highly improbable.

independence.[1] No one line of approach can give the answers to all the questions I have posed, and no scholar should brush all others but himself aside. We must distinguish between evidence and opinion, and while all opinions cannot be reconciled in any final view of the Scrolls, all evidence must somehow be accommodated in such a view. This means that the internal evidence of the contents of the non-Biblical texts must be studied as much as any other aspect of the Scrolls,[2] and it is to this that I want particularly to direct my attention.

Ever since the Scrolls first became known, their affinity with another work has been remarked. Early in the present century Solomon Schechter published some fragments now in the Cambridge University Library, which were found in the Cairo Genizah, under the title *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*.[3] These

[1] While it is clear from the preceding note that the present writer does not accept the view of S. Zeitlin or P. R. Weis, he recognizes the service they have rendered in challenging the easy acceptance of the views that were first advanced after scanty and partial study. Both have drawn attention to the many links between the Scrolls and the Ḳaraites, and it is well that these links should be studied, whatever conclusions may be ultimately adopted. Similarly G. R. Driver has rightly entered a *caveat* against the over-confident assurances of palaeographers and archaeologists who have drawn conclusions going far beyond the evidence they have produced. Those who have studied the internal contents of the documents have offered the most widely divergent theories of the historical background out of which they came, by concentrating on the elements that seemed to support their views and by ignoring elements that did not. Here, once more, the critic may render a real service to scholarship ; but so too may the propounders of the various theories, who have at least shown that many known situations can fit some of the features. From the bewildering variety of views stable conclusions may be reached, but they can only be stable if they are able to accommodate all the known conditions and to integrate into a single view all the evidence we have.

[2] G. Pidoux, *R.Th.Ph.*, 3rd series, i (1951) 204, maintains that the only method which can yield secure results is that of internal study, while S. A. Birnbaum, *J.T.V.I.* lxxxii (1950), 145, would dismiss this method.

[3] *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, vol. I : *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (1910). The most convenient edition of the Hebrew text is that of L. Rost, *Die Damaskusschrift* (1933). The most accessible English translation is that of R. H. Charles, in *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, ii (1913), 786 ff. (first published separately in 1912). Many other translations have been published including French translations by I. Lévi, *R.E.J.* lxi (1911), 172 ff., and M.-J. Lagrange, *R.B.* (N.S. ix), xxi (1912), 215 ff. ; and German translations by F. M. Th. Böhl, *T.T.* xlvi (1912), 5 ff., W. Staerk, *Die jüdische Gemeinde des Neuen Bundes in Damaskus* (1922), pp. 15 ff., and P. Riessler, *Altjüdisches Schrifttum*

fragments are of two manuscripts,[1] which are held to come from the tenth century and from the eleventh or twelfth century of our era. In part the two manuscripts overlap, but where they do so the text is not identical, and it is clear that either one or both of these copyists, or some earlier copyists, felt free to modify the text. The later of the two manuscripts is manifestly not the author's autograph, and there is no reason to suppose that the earlier one is such an autograph. How much earlier than the tenth century the composition of the work is to be placed, however, is a question which has been much disputed. It has been ascribed to dates so far apart as the second century B.C.[2] and the eleventh century A.D.,[3] with a great variety of dates in between.[4]

ausserhalb der Bibel (1928), pp. 920 ff.; Danish translation by F. F. Hvidberg, *Menigheden af den Nye Pagt i Damascus* (1928), pp. 37 ff. While the present lecture has been in the press, S. Zeitlin has published facsimiles of the MSS. of this text, together with an Introduction. Cf. *The Zadokite Fragments* (1952).

[1] Manuscript A consists of eight leaves, and is numbered T.-S. 10 K 6; Manuscript B consists of a single leaf and is numbered T.-S. 16 311.

[2] So Ed. Meyer, *Die Gemeinde des Neuen Bundes im Lande Damaskus* (1919), and *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, ii, 4th ed. (1925), 47 ff.; H. Gressmann, in W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums in späthellenistischen Zeitalter*, 3rd ed., edited by H. Gressmann (1926), p. 15; P. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* (1947), pp. 11 f.; W. E. Barnes, *J.T.S.* xii (1910-11), 301 ff.; G. F. Moore, *H.T.R.* iv (1911), 330 ff. (but cf. *Judaism*, i (1927), 204); B. D. Eerdmans, *T.T.* xlv (1911), 282 ff. While refraining from committing himself to any date, P. Volz inclined to the pre-Maccabaean date of Ed. Meyer. Cf. *Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* (1934), p. 15. I. Lévi, *R.E.J.* lxiii (1912), 4, dated it after 165 B.C., though finding it to reflect the Maccabaean period. The present writer, in *The Relevance of Apocalyptic*, 2nd ed. (1947), p. 74, dated it 'somewhere in the last century and a half before the Christian era'.

[3] So A. Marmorstein, *T.T.* lii (1918), 92 ff.

[4] J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem zur Zeit Jesu*, ii B (1937), 116, N. A. Dahl, *Das Volk Gottes* (1941), p. 305*a*, and earlier H. Gressmann, *Z.D.M.G.* lxvi (1912), 499 f. (for Gressmann's later view, cf. above, note 2) all date it in the first century B.C. or the first century A.D.; R. H. Pfeiffer, *History of New Testament Times* (1949), p. 57, dates it between 100 B.C. and A.D. 70; F. M. Th. Böhl, *loc. cit.* pp. 1 ff., dates it in the first century A.D.; J. A. Montgomery, *B.W.* xxxviii (1911), 373 ff., I. Lévi, *R.E.J.* lxi (1911), 161 ff., lxiii (1912), 1 ff., and H. Preisker, *T.S.K.* xcviii-xcix (1926), 295 ff., date it before A.D. 70; F. F. Hvidberg, *op. cit.* p. 289, assigns it to a date between 63 B.C. and A.D. 70; J. Gutmann, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, v (1930), col. 753, assigns it to a date within the century preceding the destruction of the Temple in A.D. 70; R. Leszynsky, *Die Sadduzäer* (1912),

This text tells how 390 years after Nebuchadnezzar's destruction of the Temple there was the sprouting of a root from Aaron and Israel, by which appears to be meant the origin of the sect from which the text came.[1] The disloyalty of the nation to the law of God is described, and the sect is declared to have sought to give renewed loyalty and obedience. After a further period of twenty years we find there is a figure who is called the Teacher of Righteousness, who is apparently the leader of the sect.[2] There are references to his death, which is called his 'gathering in'.[3] After his death another leader, called the Star,[4] is found leading the sect, which now migrates to Damascus.[5] We are told that forty years after the gathering in of the Teacher of Righteousness the Messiah should arise from Aaron and Israel,[6] and it is

pp. 142 ff., contents himself with assigning it to the time before the destruction of the Temple; J. Schousboe, *La Secte juive de l'Alliance Nouvelle au pays de Damas et le Christianisme naissant* (1942), assigns it to c. A.D. 70; G. Margoliouth, *Expositor*, 8th series, ii (1911), 499 ff., iii (1912), 213 ff., and *Bibliotheca. Sacra*, lxix (1912), 421 ff., assigns it to the period immediately following A.D. 70; R. Eisler, in *Occident and Orient* (Gaster Anniversary Volume, 1936), pp. 110 ff., dates it between A.D. 70 and A.D. 135; M.-J. Lagrange, *R.B.* (N.S. ix), xxi (1912), 213 ff., 321 ff. (N.S. xi), xxiii (1914), 133 ff., and R. J. Tournay, *ibid*, lvi (1949), 233, assign it to the end of the second century A.D.; S. Landauer, *Th.L.Z.* xxxvii (1912), cols. 261 ff., asigns it to the period of the Mishnah; W. Bousset, *Th.R.* xviii (1915), 51 ff., assigns it to c. the seventh century A.D.; A. Büchler, *J.Q.R.*, N.S. iii (1912-13), 429 ff., F. Perles, *O.L.Z.* xvi (1913), cols. 417 ff., and S. Zeitlin, *J.Q.R.*, N.S. xxxix (1948-49), 180, assign it to the seventh or eighth century A.D.; D. S. Margoliouth, *Expositor*, 8th series, vi (1913), 157 ff., assigns it to the tenth century A.D.

[1] Cf. i. 5 (p. I, lines 5 f.). The references to the *Zadokite Work* will be given by chapter and verse, as in the edition of Charles, and also by page and line of the Hebrew text.

[2] Cf. i. 6 f. (p. I, lines 8 ff.).

[3] Cf. ix. 39 (p. XX, lines 13 f.).

[4] Cf. ix. 8 (p. VII, line 19). It is probable that the Star is to be distinguished from the Teacher of Righteousness, though a few writers have maintained that they should be identified. So S. Schechter in the *editio princeps*, p. xiii, and J. B. Frey, in *S.D.B.* i (1928), col. 399.

[5] Cf. vi. 1, viii. 6 (pp. IV, lines 2 f., VI, line 5).

[6] Cf. ix. 39 (p. XX, lines 13 ff.). S. Schechter, *loc. cit.* identified the Teacher of Righteousness with the expected Messiah. A. Dupont-Sommer, *Aperçus préliminaires sur les manuscrits de la Mer Morte* (1950), p. 56 (E. Tr., p. 44), takes the same view. This view was rejected by G. F. Moore, *H.T.R.* iv (1911), 342; J. A. Montgomery, *B.W.*, N.S. xxxviii (1911), 376; J. B. Frey, *loc. cit.* Since Dupont-Sommer advocated this view anew it has been declared improbable by J. van der Ploeg, *Bi.Or.* viii (1951), 13, and rejected by J. Bonsirven,

clear that this period of forty years had not yet expired, though it seems probable that its close was not far off. If we could rely on the figures of this chronology all of these events could be located in the second century B.C.[1] It is impossible to rely on it, however.[2] From no other ancient Jewish source do we have accurate chronology of the Persian period, and little reliance can be placed on this.[3] It is probable that the figure 390 was derived from Ezek. iv. 5,[4] though it is here reckoned from a different point. It is schematic rather than scientific.[5]

Études, cclxviii (1951), 216, and R. de Vaux, *La Vie Intellectuelle* (Apr. 1951), p. 67. G. F. Moore, *loc. cit.* could find no evidence of any belief in the resurrection in the *Zadokite Work*. On the other hand G. Margoliouth thought that the sect expected two Messiahs, both of whom were dead and expected to rise again. Cf. *J.T.S.* xii (1910-11), 446 ff., and *Expositor*, 8th series, ii (1911), 510 ff. L. Ginzberg, *M.G.W.J.* (N.F. xxii), lviii (1914), 160, held that some passages in the *Zadokite Work* favoured the identification of the Teacher of Righteousness and the Messiah, while other passages did not.

[1] Three hundred and ninety years after Nebuchadnezzar's destruction of the Temple would carry us to 196 B.C. Ed. Meyer, *Die Gemeinde des Neuen Bundes im Lande Damaskus* (1919), pp. 13 f., treats this chronology seriously. Cf. R. H. Pfeiffer, *History of New Testament Times* (1949), p. 57 : ' If we assume on the part of the author a chronological accuracy unparalleled in ancient Jewish literature for the period 586 B.C. to 175 B.C., we may date the schism and the journey to Damascus soon after 176 B.C.'

[2] So R. Leszynsky, *Die Sadduzäer* (1912), p. 166 ; F. F. Hvidberg, *Z.A.W.* (N.F. x), li (1933), 309.

[3] G. Hölscher, *Z.N.W.* xxviii (1929), 42, quotes the reckoning given in *Seder 'Olām Rabbā*, where the Exile is reckoned at seventy years, the Persian period at thirty-four years, the Greek period at 180 years, and the Hasmonaean period at 103 years. The total here is therefore 387 years from the destruction of Jerusalem to the death of Antigonus. A further example of the inaccuracy of chronological knowledge, this time coming from the very period in which the acceptance of the figures of the *Zadokite Work* as reliable would place it, is the passage referring to the Seventy Weeks in Dan. ix. Interpreters have made brave attempts to treat these figures as precise, but it is hard to find any two who agree in their conclusions on this basis.

[4] So R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, ii (1913), 800, and earlier R. Leszynsky, *R.E.J.* lxii (1911), 193.

[5] F. F. Hvidberg, *Z.A.W.* (N.F. x), li (1933), 309 ff., argued that the period is based on the figures in the book of Genesis for the period from the birth of Shem to the birth of Abraham. S. Zeitlin, *J.Q.R.*, N.S. xxxix (1948-49), 238 f., and P. R. Weis, *ibid.* xli (1950-51), 142, hold that the figure is based on a Talmudic tradition which assigns 420 years to the duration of the Second Temple. If to this a further seventy years are added for the length of the exile, we reach a total of 490 years, from the destruction of the first Temple to that of the second.

There are references to the enemies of the sect. Amongst them figures one who is called the Man of Scorn,[1] and the Prophet of Untruth.[2] These appear to be one and the same person. There is also a reference to the chief of the Kings of Javan [3] who appears to be allied to the enemies of the sect.

We learn something of the organization of the sect, though we have no means of knowing whether this organization was due to the Star and dated from about the time of the migration to Damascus, or whether it had been the same in the time of the Teacher of Righteousness or from the beginning. There are four categories of members: priests, Levites, Israelites and proselytes.[4] It is improbable that the last class means proselytes from the Gentiles, since the sect avoided any dealings with Gentiles,[5] and it is more probable that the reference is to converts from amongst the Jews to the sect which regarded itself as the true Israel. They were therefore persons who had not yet entered into the full membership of the sect.[6] The members were organized in camps,[7] and at the head of each camp there was

A. Baraitha is then quoted in support of the tradition that Hillel became Nasi 100 years before the destruction of the Temple, and the period of the *Zadokite Work* is held to carry us to Hillel's installation as Nasi. Both of these are very ingenious interpretations. They both agree in finding the figure to be schematic rather than accurate chronology.

[1] Cf. i. 10 (p. I, line 14). In ix. 36 (p. XX, line 11) we have the plural of this expression.

[2] Cf. ix. 22 (p. VIII, line 13). Cf. also i. 10 (p. I, lines 14 f.) and viii. 1 (p. VI, line 1). In ix. 39 (p. XX, line 15) we find the expression Man of Untruth.

[3] Cf. ix. 20 (pp. VIII, line 11, XIX, lines 23 f.). In the use of the word 'chief' it is probable that we should see a *double entendre*. The word occurs in a comment on the phrase 'the poison of asps', where the word 'poison' is identical with the word 'chief' in the comment.

[4] Cf. xvii. 1 ff. (p. XIV, lines 3 ff.).

[5] Cf. xiv. 7 ff. (p. XII, lines 6 ff.).

[6] In the *Manual of Discipline*, Col. II, lines 20 ff., we find three classes referred to, priests, Levites, and all the people. But while there is no reference to the proselytes here, it is to be observed that there is reference to a fourth category, the novices. Indeed, the opening columns of the facsimile edition of the text deal with the concluding stages of their novitiate, and further on we read more of the admission of new members to a probationary period (cf. col. VI, lines 14 ff.). It is further to be noted that the novices were Israelites who wished to enter the sect, and not Gentiles. It is these who are probably referred to as the proselytes in the *Zadokite Work*.

[7] Cf. xvii. 1 (p. XIV, line 3).

an Inspector,[1] who has been compared by some writers with the Christian bishop.[2] They were strict in the observance of the Sabbath,[3] and they appear to have been in disagreement with their contemporaries in the matter of the calendar.[4] There is a reference to the book of *Jubilees* in the *Zadokite Work*,[5] and the sect appears to have accepted the calendar which was approved by that book.[6] The members are called the Sons of Zadok,[7] and this appears to mean that they were loyal to the high priestly house of Zadok.[8] There is a reference to the polygamy of David,[9] which is excused on the ground that the Law was unknown to him, since this was before the restoration of the law by Zadok.[10] On the question of marriage the sect condemned marriage with a second wife while the first wife was living.[11] It was therefore against polygamy.[12] It also objected to marriage with a niece,

[1] Cf. x. 10 ff., xv. 7, xvi. 1 ff., xix. 8 ff. (pp. IX, lines 16 ff., XIII, lines 4 ff. 7 ff., XV, lines 7 ff.).

[2] So J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem zur Zeit Jesu*, ii B (1937), 132 ff.; B. Reicke, *Symbolae Biblicae Upsalienses*, No. 6 (1946), p. 16 n. Earlier I. Lévi, *R.E.J.* lxi (1911), 195, compared him with the Epimelētēs of the Essenes, the Bishop of the Church, and the Censor of the Romans. Cf. also W. Staerk, *Die jüdische Gemeinde des Neuen Bundes in Damaskus* (1922), p. 68. Against this, K. G. Goetz, *Z.N.W.* xxx (1931), 89 ff., raised objection. Cf. H. W. Beyer, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, ed. by R. Kittel, ii (1935), 614 f.

[3] Cf. xiii. 1 ff., 13 ff. (pp. X, lines 14 ff., XI, lines 4 ff.). On the attitude to the Sabbath of the sect, cf. M. H. Segal, *J.Q.R.*, N.S. ii (1911-12), 136 f; G. Margoliouth, *E.T.* xxiv (1912-13), 553 ff.

[4] Cf. v. 1, viii. 15, xx. 1 (pp. III, lines 12 ff., VI, lines 18 f., XVI, lines 2 f.).

[5] Cf. xx. 1 (p. XVI, lines 3 f.).

[6] Cf. S. Schechter, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*, pp. xvi, xix f.; G. Margoliouth, *E.T.* xxiii (1911-12), 362 ff.; A. Büchler, *J.Q.R.*, N.S. iii (1912-13), 435 f.

[7] Cf. vi. 2 (p. IV, line 3). I. Lévi, *R.E.J.* lxv (1913), 24 ff., called attention to another fragment from the Cairo Genizah on which a reference to 'the Community of the Sons of Zadok' stood. Cf. also M.-J. Lagrange, *R.B.* (N.S. xi), xxiii (1914), 135 f.

[8] H. J. Schoeps, *Z.R.G.G.* iii (1951), 336, thinks it probable that the Teacher of Righteousness was named Zadok, and gave his name to his followers.

[9] vii. 4 f. (p. V, lines 1 ff.).

[10] vii. 6 (p. V, lines 4 f.).

[11] vii. 1 ff. (p. IV, lines 19 ff.).

[12] S. Schechter, *op. cit.* p. xxxvi, thinks divorce was equally condemned by the sect, but the reference to David immediately following would seem to limit the thought to polygamy. Cf. R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, ii (1913), 810. M. H. Segal, *J.Q.R.*, N.S. ii (1911-12), 138, thinks the text of xvi. 9 (p. XIII, line 17) once had reference to divorce, and permitted it only when the

though this is not explicitly prohibited in the Pentateuch.[1] This objection was based on the principle of analogy.[2] Since the marriage of a man with his aunt is prohibited, they held that the marriage of a woman with her uncle was equally illegitimate.

It must here suffice to mention one other significant, but cryptic, reference in the text. The sect held in special esteem a book which is called the *Book of Hagu*.[3] Nothing was known of this book, and little may yet be known. But to this we must return.

In the literature which was devoted to this text between 1910 and the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, much attention was given to the identification of the sect. The Pharisees,[4] the Sadducees,[5] the Zealots,[6] the Dositheans,[7] the followers of John

Censor allowed it. On the marriage rules of the sect, cf. also A. Büchler, *J.Q.R.*, N.S. iii (1912-13), 433 ff.; G. Margoliouth, *E.T.* xxv (1913-14), 560 ff.

[1] Cf. vii. 9 ff. (p. V, lines 7 ff.).

[2] They based this analogy on Lev. xviii. 13. It may be noted that the book of *Jubilees*, with which the *Zadokite Work* shows acquaintance, and which it follows in the matter of the calendar, is here in disagreement. Cf. *Jub.* iv. 15 ff., viii. 5 f., where marriage with a niece is recorded with no sign of disapproval.

[3] Cf. xi. 2, xv. 5 (pp. X, line 6, XI, line 2).

[4] Cf. L. Ginzberg, *M.G.W.J.* (N.F. xxi), lvii (1913), 289 ff., 676, and I. Teil, *Eine unbekannte jüdische Sekte* (1922), p. 375 (this volume contains a reprint of a long series of articles in the *Monatsschrift*, together with an additional chapter; references are here given to the *Monatsschrift*, save for the final chapter, since the present writer had brief access to the book only after his work was almost completed); W. Staerk, *op. cit.* p. 97; J. Quiring, in *From the Pyramids to Paul* (G. L. Robinson Festschrift) (1935), p. 199; H. W. Beyer, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, ed. by R. Kittel, ii (1935), 614. It was rejected by R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, ii (1913), 791; M.-J. Lagrange, *R.B.* (N.S. ix), xxi (1912), 337, and *Le Judaïsme avant Jésus-Christ* (1931), p. 332. N. A. Dahl, *Das Volk Gottes* (1941), p. 129, holds that the sect was an offshoot of the Pharisees.

[5] Cf. R. Leszynsky, *Die Sadduzäer* (1912) pp. 142 ff. (cf. the review by F. Perles, *O.L.Z.* xvi (1913), cols. 417 ff.). This view was rejected by B. Revel, *J.Q.R.*, N.S. vii (1916-17), 429 ff.

[6] Cf. M.-J. Lagrange, *R.B.* (N.S. ix), xxi (1912), 345, and *Le Judaïsme avant Jésus-Christ* (1931), pp. 332 f.

[7] Cf. S. Schechter, *op. cit.* pp. xxi f.; J. Schousboe, *La Secte juive de l'Alliance Nouvelle au pays de Damas* (1942), pp. 52 ff. This view is rejected by I. Lévi, *R.E.J.* lxiii (1912), 10 ff.; S. Poznánski, *Jewish Review*, ii (1911-12), 277 f.; L. Ginzberg, *M.G.W.J.* lvii (1913), 395 ff. On the Dositheans cf. J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans* (1907), pp. 252 ff.; G. F. Moore, *H.T.R.* iv (1911), 360 ff.

the Baptist,[1] and the Ebionite Christians [2] all had their advocates, and while the last two seem quite out of the question, the others had all some measure of appropriateness. Moreover, the connections with the Essenes were noted, though the *Zadokite Work* was not claimed to be Essene.[3] Yet all of these were in some measure inappropriate, for our sect does not wholly agree with what is known of any of these parties. It is for this reason that they have been called the Zadokites.[4] In Hebrew this name is identical with the Sadducees, but it is most improbable that they were the Sadducees of the New Testament. By using the term Zadokites we avoid prejudicing their relation to any of the parties mentioned, while being free to recognize their affinities with any or all of them.[5]

The advocates of the very late dating of the *Zadokite Work*

[1] Cf. R. Eisler, in *Occident and Orient* (Gaster Anniversary Volume) (1936), pp. 110 ff. ; J. Schousboe, *op. cit.* Schousboe identified the Man of Scorn with Jesus. G. Margoliouth had earlier found references to John the Baptist in the *Zadokite Work*, but in a different way, holding him to be the predecessor of the Teacher of Righteousness, and not treated as set against Jesus. Cf. *Expositor*, 8th series, iii (1912), 220 ff.

[2] Cf. G. Margoliouth, *The Athenaeum* (26 Nov. 1910), pp. 657 ff. ; *J.T.S.* xii (1910-11), 446 ff. ; *Expositor*, 8th series, ii (1911), 499 ff., iii (1912), 213 ff. ; *E.T.* xxiii (1911-12), 362 ff., xxiv (1912-13), 553 ff., xxv (1913-14), 560 ff. ; *Jewish Review*, ii (1911-12), 361 ff. ; *Bibliotheca Sacra*, lxix (1912), 421 ff. ; *International Journal of Apocrypha*, x (1914), 36 f. This view was rejected by K. Kohler, *A.J.Th.* xv (1911), 404 f. ; M.-J. Lagrange, *R.B.* (N.S. ix), xxi (1912), 335 ; G. F. Moore, *H.T.R.* ix (1911), 370 ff. ; S. Poznánski, *Jewish Review*, ii (1911-12), 443 ff. ; J. B. Frey, *S.D.B.* i (1928), col. 402.

[3] Cf. M.-J. Lagrange, *R.B.* (N.S. ix), xxi (1912), 344 ; I. Lévi, *R.E.J.* lxi (1911), 9 f. ; J. Bonsirven, *Le Judaïsme palestinien*, i (1936), 67. None of these scholars accepted the Essene view. On the Essenes cf. among many other works, W. Bauer, in *P.W.*, Supplement, iv (1924), cols. 386 ff. ; H. Mosbech, *Essæismen : et Bidrag til Senjødedomens Religionshistorie* (1916) ; J. W. Lightley, *Jewish Sects and Parties in the Time of Jesus* (1925), pp. 268 ff. ; L. Marchal, in *S.D.B.* ii (1934), cols. 1109 ff.

[4] Cf. S. Schechter, *op. cit.* p. xviii ; R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, ii (1913), 790.

[5] None of the other proposed identifications is wholly satisfactory, yet almost every one can provide some points of connection. It is probable that during the period 200 B.C. to A.D. 100 there were many Jewish groups, differing from one another in various respects, yet all developed from the group known as the Ḥasidim of Maccabaean days. Cf. H. Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 3rd ed., iv (1864), 482 ff. ; K. Kohler, *A.J.Th.* xv (1911), 435 ; J. Bonsirven, *Le Judaïsme palestinien*, i (1934), 68.

based themselves on the affinities between the members of the sect and the Ḳaraites.[1] The early Ḳaraites were called by the name which we may represent by Sadducees or by Zadokites,[2] but later Ḳaraites resented and rejected any connection with these people.[3] It is clear that the name was then understood to mean Sadducees,[4] though it is possible that the reference was really to the sect of which we have knowledge through the *Zadokite Work*, and that there was confusion owing to the same name being used for the two groups.[5] It should be remembered that the *Zadokite Work* was found in a genizah in which much Ḳaraite material was found.[6]

The discussion of the *Zadokite Work* is all reopened, however, by the finding of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The *Manual of Discipline* is clearly the Manual of the same sect from which we have the *Zadokite Work*. Here we find that a long period of initiation precedes full membership of the sect,[7] and that apart from those who are still in that period, there are three classes of members of the sect.[8] The opening columns of this text do not stand in the American edition, but are now in the hands of Father de Vaux,[9]

[1] On the Ḳaraites cf. A. de Harkavy, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vii (1904), 438 ff.; K. Kohler, *ibid.* pp. 446 f.; S. Poznánski, in Hastings's *E.R.E.* vii (1914), 662 ff; I. Markon, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, ix (1932), cols. 923 ff.; J. Heller, *ibid.* cols. 945 ff.; L. Nemoy, *Jewish Universal Encyclopedia*, vi (1942), 314 ff.

[2] Cf. S. Poznánski, *R.E.J.* xliv (1902), 162 ff.

[3] Cf. *ibid.* p. 171; J. Mann, *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature*, ii (1935), 295.

[4] Their enemies stigmatized them as the 'sect of Zadok and Boethus'. Cf. J. Mann, *ibid.*

[5] The Ḳaraite writer Ḳirḳisānī tells us that the Zadokites were founded by Zadok and Boethus, who were the disciples of Antigonus of Soko. Cf. the passage cited by L. Nemoy, in *H.U.C.A.* vii (1930), 326. The successor of Antigonus, according to *Pirḳe Aboth*, i. 4, seems to have been one of the victims of Alcimus in the Maccabaean period (cf. R. T. Herford, *Pirḳe Aboth*, 2nd ed. (1930), p. 25). Zadok and Boethus may therefore have belonged to the same time. On the other hand since the *Zadokite Work* makes particular reference to the Zadok who became High Priest in the time of Solomon, the 'Sons of Zadok' from whom it emanated would seem to have been a group which owned loyalty to the Zadokite priesthood.

[6] Cf. J. Mann, *J.Q.R.*, N.S. xii (1921-22), p. 123 ff.; P. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* (1947), p. 56 n.

[7] Cf. *Manual of Discipline*, col. VI, lines 14 ff.

[8] Cf. col. II, lines 20 f.

[9] Cf. R. de Vaux, *R.B.* lvii (1950), 427.

who has stated that there is here a reference to the *Book of Hagu*. We do not yet know whether the *Manual of Discipline* is the *Book of Hagu*, or whether that is a still unrecovered work.[1] In any case this reference constitutes a most significant link between the sect of the Scrolls and the sect of the *Zadokite Work*. In the *Manual of Discipline* we find the officer whom we have called the Inspector,[2] who was charged with great authority over the members. It would appear that the members had all things in common.[3] They handed over their goods to the sect, and ate together.[4] They entered the sect with a solemn oath and were subject to their own tribunals.[5] The members of the sect are called the sons of Zadok here,[6] as in the *Zadokite Work*.

The Teacher of Righteousness figures much in the *Habakkuk Commentary*,[7] where he is described as a priest.[8] Over against him stands a Wicked Priest, who is bitterly condemned.[9] We also find the Prophet of Untruth,[10] or the Man of Untruth,[11] who may be the same person who is referred to in the *Zadokite Work*, where we also found the name Man of Scorn. We find reference to the defiling of the sanctuary,[12] by which the Temple appears to

[1] W. H. Brownlee, *B.A.* xiii (1950), 54, conjectures that the *Manual of Discipline* is the *Book of Hagu*, while S. Zeitlin, *J.Q.R.*, N.S. xli (1950-51), 263, doubts if there ever was such a book as the *Book of Hagu*.

[2] Cf. *Manual of Discipline*, col. VI, lines 10 ff., 19 ff.

[3] Cf. col. V, line 3 to col. VII, line 7. Cf. A. Dupont-Sommer, *Aperçus préliminaires*, p. 64 (E. Tr., p. 50).

[4] Cf. col. VI, line 2.

[5] Cf. cols. V to VII. Cf. also *Zadokite Work*, x. 10 ff., xi. 1 ff. (pp. IX, lines 16 ff., X, lines 3 ff.).

[6] Cf. col. V, line 2.

[7] Cf. cols. I, line 13, II, line 2, V, line 10, VII, line 4, VIII, line 3, IX, lines 9 f., XI, line 5.

[8] Cf. col. II, lines 7ff. Here the word Teacher does not stand in the text as it has survived, and may not have stood there originally, though it is clear that a priestly teacher is referred to. Cf. the reconstructions of the passage in W. H. Brownlee, *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 112 (Dec. 1948), p. 10; A. Dupont-Sommer, *R.H.R.* cxxxvii (1950), 132; J. van der Ploeg, *Bi.Or.* viii (1951), 5; H. E. del Medico, *Deux Manuscrits hébreux de la Mer Morte* (1951), p. 110; M. Delcor, *Essai sur le Midrash d'Habacuc* (1951), p. 22. Brownlee renders 'when they hear all the Cov(enant which) the last generation (will hear) from the mouth of the priest whom He has given unto the Ch(ildren of Israel for a teach)er to give the meaning of all the words of His servants the prophets' (the bracketed words being conjecturally restored).

[9] Cf. cols. VIII, line 9, IX, line 9, XI, line 4, XII, lines 2, 8.

[10] Cf. col. X, line 9.

[11] Cf. cols. II, lines 1 f., V, line 11.

[12] Cf. col. XII, lines 8 f.

be meant. Foreign foes are mentioned also under the name Kittim.[1] Elsewhere this name is used for the Greeks or for the Macedonian kingdoms of the period that followed Alexander,[2] and later for the Romans.[3] These Kittim appear to be supported by the Wicked Priest,[4] on whom retribution is promised,[5] while a wider judgment is promised, to be effected by the Elect of God.[6] The House of Absalom is condemned for their failure to come to the help of the Teacher of Righteousness,[7] who appears to have suffered persecution and probably martyrdom.[8]

In the text which has been called the *War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness*, we find the two groups of the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness set over against one another.[9]

[1] Cf. cols. II, lines 12, 14, III, lines 4, 9, IV, lines 5, 10, VI, lines 1, 10, IX, line 7.

[2] Cf. 1 Macc. i. 1, viii. 5; probably also in *Jubilees*, xxiv. 28 f. Cf. R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, ii (1913), 50.

[3] Cf. Num. xxiv. 24 in the Targum of Onkelos, where Kittim is rendered *Romans*, and in the Vulgate, where it is rendered by *Italia*; Ezek. xxvii. 6, in the Vulgate, where Kittim is rendered by *Italia* (the Targum of Jonathan here having *Apuleia*); Dan. xi. 30, in the Septuagint and the Vulgate, where Kittim is rendered by *Romans*; 1 Chron. i. 7, in the Targum, where Kittim is rendered by *Italia*. Cf. also H. E. del Medico, *Deux manuscrits hébreux de la Mer Morte* (1951), p. 69, on other uses of Kittim in the Talmud.

[4] Cf. col. IX, lines 4 ff.

[5] Cf. cols, IX, lines 9 ff., XII, lines 2 ff.

[6] Cf. col. V, line 4. Here the Wicked Priest is not specified, and the retribution is more general. Whether the Elect is to be read as a singular or as a defectively written plural is not agreed. W. H. Brownlee, *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 112 (Dec. 1948), p. 34, J. van der Ploeg, *Bi.Or.* viii (1951), 13*a* (cf. also pp. 10 f.), and H. Yalon, *Kirjath Sepher*, No. 2-3, xxvii (June 1951), 175*b*, all regard it as a defectively written plural.

[7] Cf. col. V, lines 9 ff.

[8] Cf. col. XI, line 5. Several scholars deny that the Teacher of Righteousness was martyred. So J. Coppens, *'t H. Land*, iv (1951), 66 f.; G. Lambert and G. Vermès, *N.R.Th.* lxxiii (1951), 390 f.; E. Cavaignac, *R.H.R.* cxxxviii (1950), 156 f.; M. Delcor, *Essai sur le Midrash d'Habacuc* (1951), p. 44 (cf. *R.B.* lviii (1951), 525). Against this A. Dupont-Sommer, *V.T.* i (1951), 200 f., argues for the view that he was martyred. The main issue here is as to the interpretation of the word *lbl'w*. This is most naturally rendered *to swallow him up*, in accordance with Dupont-Sommer's view. In the *Zadokite Work*, i. 15 (p. I, line 20) we find the expression taken from Ps. xciv. 21 'they gather themselves together against the soul of the righteous', where we could equally well render 'they attack the life of the righteous'. The words that follow in the Psalm imply that it is a mortal attack, and it is most naturally so taken here.

[9] Parts only of this text have yet been published, but the name given to the text by E. L. Sukenik is an indication of its character, setting forth the manner of the struggle between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness.

Some have thought the text apocalyptic or have held that the war was a ritual combat,[1] but it would appear to be a real war that provided the background of this text.[2] The text itself would seem to be what Dupont-Sommer describes as a Rule of War for the sect. The members of the sect were the Sons of Light and their enemies were the Sons of Darkness. Both of these groups are referred to in the *Zadokite Work* [3] and also in the *Manual of Discipline*,[4] though they are not given these names in the former. The Sons of Darkness are equated with the Kittim of Assyria, and with the Edomites, Philistines and Ammonites,[5] while the Sons of Light were faithful Jews, from Aaron and Israel.[6] The members of the sect are referred to in more than one of the texts as consisting of Aaron and Israel,[7] and in the *Zadokite Work*, as has been said, the Messiah of Aaron and Israel was expected.[8] This is therefore the Messiah who should arise from this sect and who should be its leader.[9] In the *Manual of Discipline* there

[1] Cf. W. Vischer, *Études Théologiques et Religieuses*, xxiv (1949), 30; I. L. Seeligmann, *Bi.Or.* vi (1949), 4*b*; G. Vermès, *Cahiers Sioniens*, No. 11 (Sept. 1950), pp. 190 f.

[2] The references to the Kittim of Assyria and the Kittim of Egypt would seem to imply an actual historical situation as the background of the text, though it is probable that the text was apocalyptic in the sense that an apocalyptic situation was believed to be about to develop. This is precisely what we find in the book of Daniel.

[3] The actual terms are not found in the *Zadokite Work*, though the two opposed groups are frequently referred to. Cf. i. 13 ff., viii. 1 f., ix. 36 ff. (pp. I, lines 19 ff., V, lines 20 f., VI, line 1, XX, lines 10 ff.) for references to the opponents of the Teacher of Righteousness.

[4] Cf. cols. I, line 9, III, lines 13, 25, for 'the Sons of Light', and col. I, line 10, for 'the Sons of Darkness'. In other passages the two opposed groups are referred to, but without the use of these terms, and in col. III, lines 19 ff., we have the contrast between light and darkness, but without reference to the Sons of Light and of Darkness.

[5] Cf. E. L. Sukenik, *Megillôth Genûzôth*, i (1948), 19.

[6] The Sons of Light are defined as from the tribes of Levi, Judah, and Benjamin. Cf. E. L. Sukenik, *ibid.* They are also defined as consisting of Aaron and Israel. Cf. *ibid.* It would therefore seem that Aaron stands for the Levitical and priestly members of the sect, and Israel for the lay members, and not for persons from the northern tribes.

[7] Cf. *The War of the Sons of Light*, according to Sukenik, *loc. cit.*; *Manual of Discipline*, cols. V, line 6, IX, line 6.

[8] Cf. ix. 10 B, 29, xv, 4, xviii. 8 (?) (pp. XIX, lines 10 f., XX, line 1, XII, lines 23 f., XIV, line 19).

[9] Cf. M.-J. Lagrange, *R.B.* (N.S. xi), xxiii (1914), 135; F. F. Hvidberg, *Menigheden af den Nye Pagt i Damascus* (1928), p. 281.

is a reference to the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel, in the plural.[1]

On the banners of the Sons of Light as they went into battle religious mottoes were inscribed.[2] In the battle itself the ritual blowing of trumpets and the raising of the ritual cry that should make the foe to tremble, had an important place.[3] When victory was achieved the army was instructed to return singing hymns of praise.[4] The text gives an example of such a hymn.[5] This is similar to the hymns in the scroll that is called *Hymns of Praise*, save that they are not specifically battle songs. This scroll is doubtless also from the same sect, who would need psalms for use on other occasions. These psalms are mosaics of Biblical phrases,[6] and it has been suggested that at least one of them was composed by the Teacher of Righteousness.[7]

It is impossible here to examine all the links of word and phrase that bind these texts together, and show that the *Zadokite Work* and the non-Biblical texts amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls issued from the same sect, though not necessarily at the same stage of its history. One of the characteristic words is ' Covenant '. This word is found no less than thirty-five times in the *Zadokite Work*, and this is more frequently than in any book of

[1] Cf. col. IX, line 11. H. E. del Medico, *Deux Manuscrits hébreux de la Mer Morte* (1951), p. 33, renders by the singular, while H. Lambert, *Le Manual de Discipline du Désert de Juda* (1951), p. 83, observes that the plural is strange.

[2] Cf. E. L. Sukenik, *Megillôth Genûzôth*, i (1948), 19.

[3] Cf. *ibid.* J.-G. Février, *Semitica*, iii (1950), 53 ff., has argued that this scroll shows knowledge of the tactics of the Hellenistic armies of the second century B.C.

[4] Cf. E. L. Sukenik, *op. cit.* Plate IX, line 1.

[5] Cf. E. L. Sukenik, *Megillôth Genûzôth*, ii (1950), Plate XI.

[6] Widely different judgments have been expressed on these psalms. R. T. O'Callaghan, *Scripture*, iv (1949), 44, says they may be compared for their depth of religious sentiment and devoutness of expression with the most beautiful of the world's literature. On the other hand, A. R. Johnson, in *The Old Testament and Modern Study*, ed. by H. H. Rowley (1951), p. 165, says they do not appear to be of any great literary merit. Similarly S. Zeitlin, *J.Q.R.*, N.S. xli (1950-51), 43 ; G. R. Driver, *Hibbert Journal*, xlix (1950-51), 13 (cf. *The Hebrew Scrolls* (1951), pp. 17 ff.).

[7] Cf. E. L. Sukenik, *Megillôth Genûzôth*, ii (1950), 32 ; A. Dupont-Sommer, *Aperçus préliminaires*, p. 86 (E. Tr., p. 70). Cf. also M. H. Segal, *J.B.L.* lxx (1951), 135 n. ; J.-M. P. Bauchet, *Scripture*, iv (1951), 277.

the Old Testament.[1] The members of the sect were bound together by a covenant, or by the New Covenant.[2] They refer to themselves in the *Habakkuk Commentary*[3] and in the *Manual of Discipline*[4] as a community, and the word that is used here is nowhere used in this sense in the Old Testament.[5] This word does not stand in the *Zadokite Work*, but it has been conjectured that we should restore it by a very slight emendation.[6] In the *Zadokite Work* we find the expression which had been rendered 'Unique Teacher',[7] where the reference is to the Teacher of Righteousness. It has been suggested that we should read *yaḥadh* = *community* instead of *yāḥîdh* = *unique*, and so should render the phrase 'Teacher of the Community'.[8] The word *serekh*, which means *rule* or *habit*, is also characteristic of these texts.[9] It is found in the *Zadokite Work*,[10] in the *Manual of Discipline*,[11] and in the *War of the Sons of Light*.[12] In view of these

[1] Cf. E. Lohmeyer, *Diatheke* (1913), p. 116.

[2] Cf. *Zadokite Work*, ii. 1, viii. 11, 15, ix. 12, 28, 37, xi. 2 (pp. II, line 2, VI, lines 11, 19, VIII, lines 1, 21, X, line 6, XIX, lines 13 f., 33 f., XX, line 12); *Habakkuk Commentary*, col. II, lines 3 f.; *Manual of Discipline*, cols. I, lines 8, 16, 18, 20, 24, II, lines 10, 12, 13, 16, 18, IV, line 22, V, lines 5, 8, 9, 10, 20, 20, 22, VI, lines 15, 19, VIII, lines 9, 10.

[3] Cf. col. XII, line 4.

[4] Cf. cols. I, lines 1, 12, 16, II, lines 22, 24, III, lines 2, 6, 7, 12, V, lines 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 16, 21, 22, VI, lines 3, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, VII, lines 2, 6, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24, VIII, lines 1, 5, 10, 11, 12, 16, 17, 19, 22, IX, lines 2, 7, 10, 19, XI, line 8.

[5] Cf. M. H. Segal, *J.B.L.* lxx (1951), 132 n.

[6] Cf. S. M. Stern, *J.B.L.* lxix (1950), 24.

[7] Cf. ix. 29 (p. XX, line 1), and ix. 39 (p. XX, line 14). The word for Teacher is not quite identical in these passages.

[8] Similarly in ix. 53 (p. XX, line 32) we should perhaps read 'Men of the community', substituting *yaḥadh* again for *yāḥîdh*, where Charles thought this word was misplaced and moved it to yield the meaning 'Unique Teacher of Righteousness'. Cf. *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, ii (1913), 822. The phrase 'men of the community' is found in the *Manual of Discipline*, cols. V, lines 1, 15 f., VI, line 21, VII, line 20, VIII, lines 11, 16, IX, lines 6 f., 10, 19.

[9] This word is not found in Biblical Hebrew, but is found in the Talmud. It is found also in a Genizah Aramaic fragment of the *Testament of Levi*. Cf. Charles and Cowley, *J.Q.R.* xix (1906-07), 574, line 4.

[10] Cf. ix. 1, x. 1, xv. 1, 4, xvi. 1, xvii. 1 (pp. vii, line 6, X, line 4, XII, lines 19, 22, XIII, line 7, XIV, line 2).

[11] Cf. cols. I, line 16, II, lines 20, 21 V, lines 1, 23, VI, lines 8, 22.

[12] Cf. E. L. Sukenik, *Megillôth Genûzôth*, i (1948), Plate VIII, line 14.

and all the other verbal links that could be enumerated, it is impossible to escape the conclusion that the *Zadokite Work* which was found in the Cairo Genizah and the Dead Sea Scrolls came originally from a single sect.

In addition, therefore, to the problems of dating which I posed above, we have some new problems. How are these texts to be related to one another, and how can we explain the finding of the one in an ancient Genizah in Egypt and the others in a cave near the Dead Sea? We may first return to the problems of dating on internal grounds. The *Zadokite Work* was written after the migration of the sect to Damascus, and there would seem to be no background of warfare, though the organization was in camps. It would seem, therefore, as though the warfare was earlier than this, and as though the military organization of that conflict had left its mark permanently on the vocabulary of the sect for its divisions. Amongst the enemies in that war were the Kittim of Assyria. There are also references to the Kittim of Egypt.[1] Here we seem to be quite certainly in the pre-Roman period, and the Kittim of Assyria are the Seleucids and the Kittim of Egypt the Ptolemies.[2] Since it is the former and not the latter who are associated with the Wicked Priest, we seem to be definitely in the second century B.C., after Palestine had come under Seleucid rule. The mottoes on the banners[3] remind us of those of Judas Maccabaeus,[4] and the singing of hymns on the return from victory finds also its parallel in that period.[5] Both may well have been found in other periods, however.

The period of the Maccabaean wars, however, seems excellently to fit the general conditions. Within the second century

[1] Cf. E. L. Sukenik, *Megillôth Genûzôth*, i. (1948), p. 18 n.

[2] S. Zeitlin objects that we nowhere else find Syria referred to as Asshur during the Second Commonwealth. Cf. *J.Q.R.*, N.S. xxxix (1948-49), 338, xli (1950-51), 266. The Seleucid rulers still claimed to possess Babylonia, where the founder of the dynasty first established his rule, and Antiochus III and Antiochus IV both exerted themselves to restore effective control there. It would therefore be appropriate to call them the Kittim of Assyria. Moreover, as S. A. Birnbaum has pointed out, the fact that we have references to the *Kittim* of Assyria and the *Kittim* of Egypt implies that the same kind of people are intended in both countries. Cf. *J.B.L.* lxx (1951), 228.

[3] Cf. E. L. Sukenik, *Megillôth Genûzôth*, i (1948), 19.

[4] Cf. 2 Macc. viii. 23, xiii. 15.

[5] Cf. 1 Macc. iv. 24.

B.C. there is no other period that is so appropriate. We know that at that time the question of the Zadokite priesthood was to the fore. The high priest Onias was replaced by his brother Jason in the high priestly office,[1] and later Menelaus, who seems to have been not even of the tribe of Levi,[2] was installed in the office.[3] That this scandalized some of the faithful is certain. For we find that some of the supporters of Judas Maccabaeus withdrew their support as soon as Alcimus came to Jerusalem,[4] on the ground that one of the line of the true high priests was to be trusted.[5] That he turned out not to deserve their trust does not affect the ground of their trust, or diminish its evidence that this was a live issue at that time. It is true that later on, after the Hasmonaeans had occupied the High Priesthood, this became a

[1] Cf. 2 Macc. iv. 7.

[2] Cf. 2 Macc. iv. 23, iii. 4, from which it would appear that he was of the tribe of Benjamin. But according to Josephus, *Antiq.*, XII, v. 1 (xii. 238) he was the brother of Onias and Jason. Many scholars have preferred to follow Josephus. So Humphrey Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament Connected* (1845 ed.), ii. 150; S. Zeitlin, *J.Q.R.*, N.S. xli (1950-51), 258. R. Marcus, *Josephus* (Loeb edition), vii (1943), 121 n., thinks Josephus is here confused. With this cf. E. Schürer, *History of the Jewish People* (English Tr.), I. i (1890), 204 n.; Ed. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, ii (1925), 133. Amongst those who have followed 2 Maccabees here cf. E. R. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, ii (1902), 170; H. P. Smith, *Old Testament History* (1911), p. 444; Oesterley and Robinson, *History of Israel*, ii (1932), 220 n.; L. Finkelstein, *H.T.R.* xxxv (1942), 321; M. Grandclaudon, *La Sainte Bible* (ed. by L. Pirot and A. Clamer), 2nd part, viii (1951), 173. The account of 2 Maccabees is suspected by the scholars mentioned above on the ground that it says that Menelaus's brother Simon was a Benjamite, and held the office of προστάτης of the Temple, whereas it is thought that this office could not be held by one who was not a priest or a Levite. Actually, as E. R. Bevan, *C.A.H.* viii (1930), 500, notes, no one knows what the functions of the προστάτης were. Some scholars have maintained that the original text of 2 Maccabees did not assign Simon to the tribe of Benjamin but to the tribe of Bilgah, which is then held to have been a priestly family. So H. Bévénot, *Die beiden Makkabäerbücher* (1931), p. 181; E. Bickermann, *Der Gott der Makkabäer* (1937), p. 66; F.-M. Abel, in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, i (1946), 52 ff. (cf. *Les Livres des Maccabées* (1949) (in Études Bibliques), p. 316, and *Les Livres des Maccabées* (1948) (in La Sainte Bible de Jérusalem) p. 115). This view is rejected by L. Finkelstein, *H.T.R.* xxxvi (1943), 33 f.

[3] Cf. 2 Macc. iv. 24.

[4] Cf. 1 Macc. vii. 10 ff.

[5] A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, i (1913), 311, states that Alcimus was not of the house of Aaron, but presents no evidence in support of this.

live issue in some quarters once more, but it is hard to find evidence of a conflict then that would answer to the conditions of our texts. Some have connected the conflict with the divisions between Pharisees and Sadducees at the end of the century,[1] but no foreign power, answering to the Kittim, was involved in that conflict in the way indicated here. Others have transferred the scene to the middle of the first century B.C.,[2] when the Romans were active and when the Kittim could be equated with them. Here great weight is put on a passage in the *Habakkuk Commentary* which is held to be a reference to Pompey's capture of

[1] Cf. M. H. Segal, *J.Q.R.*, N.S. iii (1912-13), 301 ff.; *The Jerusalem Post* (26 May and 2 June 1950) (seen only in reprint); *J.B.L.* lxx (1951), 131 ff. Cf. also *Tarbiz*, xxii (1950-51), 136 ff.; *Eretz Israel*, i (1949-50), 39 ff. Cf. also M. Delcor, *Essai sur le Midrash d'Habacuc* (1951), pp. 56 ff., and *R. B.* lviii (1951), 538 ff.

[2] Cf. especially A. Dupont-Sommer, *Observations sur le Commentaire d' Habacuc* (1950), pp. 5 ff.; *La Nouvelle Clio*, i-ii (1949-50), 330 ff.; *Aperçus préliminaires*, pp. 38 ff. (E. Tr. pp. 27 ff.). R. J. Tournay, *R.B.* lvi (1949), 232, had earlier suggested the Herodian age as the background for the texts, and J. Daniélou, *Études*, cclxv (May 1950), 183, the conquests of Pompey. Of the scholars who have followed the view of Dupont-Sommer, so far as the background of the texts is concerned, we may note R. Goossens, *La Nouvelle Clio*, i-ii (1949-50), 336 ff., 652, 662 ff.; H. Grégoire, *ibid.* pp. 354 ff.; Marcel Simon, *Revue Historique* (Oct.-Dec. 1950), pp. 218 ff.; P. Kahle, *Th.L.Z.* lxxv (1950), 539 f., and *V.T.* i (1951), 43 f.; G. Widengren, *Svenska Dagbladet* (1 Sept. 1951); and E. Cavaignac, *R.H.R.* cxxxviii (1950), 152 ff. Cf. also H. J. Schoeps, *Z.R.G.G.* iii (1951), 325 ff.; R. Dussaud, *Syria*, xxviii (1951), 138 ff. Dupont-Sommer drew from his view corollaries with reference to the origin of Christianity which have been much discussed, and which have brought upon him the strongest attacks, and which have perhaps caused the interpretations on which he relied for his dating of the background of the scrolls to be rejected with so much vigour. Going beyond Dupont-Sommer in the presentation of these views, Étiemble, *Les Temps Modernes*, No. 63, vi (Jan. 1951), 1291 f., declares that 'the Messiah of Galilee' did nothing whatever but copy the martyred Teacher of Righteousness of our sect. Amongst the writers who have strongly criticized Dupont-Sommer we may note J. van der Ploeg, *Bi.Or.* viii (1951), 11 ff.; G. Vermès, *Cahiers Sioniens*, v (1951), 58 ff.; G. Lambert and G. Vermès, *N.R.Th.* lxxiii (1951), 385 ff.; R. de Vaux, *La Vie Intellectuelle* (Apr. 1951), pp. 60 ff., and *R.B.* lviii (1951), 437 ff.; J. Coppens, *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, xxvi (1950), 580 ff., *'t H. Land*, iv (1951), 65 ff., and *apud* G. Vermès, *La Communauté de la Nouvelle Alliance* (1951), p. 17; J. Bonsirven, *Études*, cclxviii (1951), 213 ff.; M. Delcor, *Essai sur le Midrash d'Habacuc* (1951), pp. 39 ff., and *R.B.* lviii (1951), 521 ff.; M. B. Dagut, *Biblica*, xxxii (1951), 542 ff.; S. Talmon, *ibid.* pp. 549 ff.

Jerusalem on the Day of Atonement.[1] Since it is by no means certain that Pompey did in fact capture the city on the Day of Atonement,[2] and since the passage in the *Habakkuk Commentary* does not mention the capture of the city by the Kittim,[3] this is not very convincing. Moreover, this view requires a different interpretation for the Kittim in the *Habakkuk Commentary* and the *War of the Sons of Light*,[4] and places the Teacher of Righteousness long after the rise of the sect,[5] whereas the *Zadokite Work* places him twenty years after the rise of the sect.[6]

If we revert to the Maccabaean period, Onias can be identified with the Teacher of Righteousness.[7] He was in the line of Zadok, but was displaced from office by the Seleucid monarch,[8] who could well be described as the chief of the kings of Javan,[9] or Greece, and later he was killed at the instigation of Menelaus

[1] Cf. col. XI, lines 4 ff. Cf. A. Dupont-Sommer, *Aperçus préliminaires*, pp. 38 ff. (E. Tr., pp. 27 ff.).

[2] Cf. P. R. Weis, *J.Q.R.*, N.S. xli (1950-51), 151 ff.; S. Zeitlin, *ibid.* pp. 153, 264; R. de Vaux, *La Vie Intellectuelle* (Apr. 1951), pp. 64 f. H. Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament Connected* (1845 ed.), ii. 412 n., maintained that the city was taken on the 9th of Tammuz, and so Zeitlin, *loc. cit.*, and *The First Book of Maccabees* (1950), pp. 255 f. L. Herzfeld, *M.G.W.J.* iv (1855), 111 ff., and E. Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, Div. I, i (1890), 322 f., held that Josephus misunderstood his Gentile source, which used the term 'Fast Day' instead of the 'Sabbath'. To this conclusion M. B. Dagut has come after a re-examination of the question. Cf. *Biblica*, xxxii (1951), 542 ff. Cf. also D. L. Drew, *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Fouad I University*, xiii (May 1951), 83 ff.

[3] Cf. J. Coppens, *'t H. Land*, iv (1951), 68; R. de Vaux, *La Vie Intellectuelle* (Apr. 1951), pp. 64 f., and *R.B.* lviii (1951), 439 ff.; H. H. Rowley, *E.T.* lxiii (1951-52), 62*a*.

[4] Dupont-Sommer identifies the Kittim of Assyria and of Egypt in the *War of the Sons of Light* with the Seleucids and Ptolemies. Cf. *Aperçus préliminaires*, p. 98 (E. Tr., p. 79). In the *Habakkuk Commentary*, however, he identifies the Kittim with the Romans. Cf. *ibid.* p. 40 (E. Tr., pp. 28 f.). Cf. also I. L. Seeligmann, *Bi.Or.* vi (1949), 6, and M. H. Segal, *J.B.L.* lxx (1951), 133. For a criticism of this view cf. R. de Vaux, *R.B.* lviii (1951), 442 f.

[5] Dupont-Sommer assigns the rise of the sect to the Maccabaean period. Cf. *Aperçus préliminaires*, pp. 112 ff. (E. Tr., pp. 91 ff.). The period of the Teacher of Righteousness is put in the middle of the first century B.C. Cf. *ibid.* pp. 46 f., 75 (E. Tr., pp. 34 f., 60).

[6] Cf. i. 6 (p. I, lines 8 ff.).

[7] So B. Reicke, *Studia Theologica*, ii (1949-50), 62.

[8] Cf. 2 Macc. iv. 7 ff., 32 ff.

[9] Cf. *Zadokite Work*, ix. 20 (pp. VIII, line 11, XIX, lines 23 f.).

who had wrongfully taken his office.[1] Here Kittim and the Wicked Priest are associated as they are in our texts.[2]

The House of Absalom may be identified with the Tobiad house.[3] Joseph, of the Tobiad house, had secured from the Egyptian court the tax-farming rights for Palestine before the change-over to Seleucid rule.[4] These rights had hitherto belonged to the High Priest, but from that time on the financial power in Jerusalem had been divorced from the religious

[1] Cf. 2 Macc. iv. 23 ff.

[2] A difficulty which has been raised against this view of the background of the *Habakkuk Commentary* arises from its reference to the Kittim as sacrificing to their signs (col. VI, lines 4 f.). Dupont-Sommer has maintained that this must refer to the Roman cult of *signa*, and that it proves that the Kittim of this text cannot be the Seleucids (*Aperçus préliminaires*, p. 42 (E. Tr., p. 31); so also M. H. Segal, *J.B.L.* lxx (1951), 133 f.). To this it may be replied (1) that the Roman cult of *signa* is not known to have been practised before the establishment of the empire (cf. H. J. Rose, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (1949), p. 857*b*), the first attestation of it standing in Josephus, *Antiq.*, XVIII, iii. 1 (xviii. 55), as noted by G. Vermès (*La Communauté de la Nouvelle Alliance* (1951), p. 12; *Cahiers Sioniens*, v (1951), 68 f.), whereas Dupont-Sommer places the composition of the *Habakkuk Commentary* in the Republican period; (2) since we are ignorant of the standards of the Seleucids we cannot affirm that the banners of Antiochus IV did not bear an image of the monarch, to be identified with Zeus whose incarnation he professed to be (cf. M. Delcor, *Essai sur le Midrash d'Habacuc* (1951), p. 42 n., where the cult is said to have been current amongst the Assyrians, Persians and Egyptians, and hence probably adopted by the Hellenistic armies); (3) in Ps. lxxiv. 4, which is held by so cautious a scholar as J. Calès (*Le Livre des Psaumes*, ii (1936), 18 f.) to have been adapted in the Maccabaean age, we find a reference to enemy *signs* being placed in the Temple, where the reference may be to the images of the King and of Zeus which were placed in the Temple by Antiochus (cf. Jerome, in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xxv (1845), col. 569), and where the word *'ôth* is used precisely as in the reference in the *Habakkuk Commentary* (cf. E. Stauffer, *Th.L.Z.* lxxvi (1951), cols. 667 ff.). While this lecture has been in the press Professor R. Goossens has called my attention to Cicero, *In Catilinam*, I, ix. 24, II, vi. 13, which speak of Catiline's setting up a shrine in his home for the worship of his eagle. While this has no reference to the worship of *signa* by armies, and only makes the charge that Cataline has privately worshipped his standards in his home, it is possible that the cult of *signa* goes back to Republican times.

[3] Cf. A. Büchler, *Die Tobiaden und die Oniaden* (1899), for a study of the rivalry and conflict between the house of the Tobiads and the Oniads.

[4] Cf. Büchler, *ibid.* pp. 74 ff.; E. R. Bevan, *Jerusalem under the High Priests* (1920 ed.), pp. 45 ff. These accounts rest on Josephus, *Antiq.*, XII, iv. 1 ff. (xii. 154 ff.), on which cf. M. Holleaux, *Études d'Épigraphie et d'Histoire grecques*, iii (1942), 337 ff.

leadership. When later the religious power was taken from the house of Zadok[1] the Tobiad house gave no support, but was probably on the other side. Yet Joseph was related to the High Priest, Onias,[2] giving to the situation the character of family disloyalty that could well bring down upon the Tobiad house the opprobrious name of House of Absalom from the supporters of Onias.

When Onias was put to death the event caused very profound concern to the faithful. We know from the book of Daniel, where this event has long been thought to be referred to in ix. 26,[3] that the death of Onias was believed to be a major critical point in world history. It was therefore thought of in terms comparable with the esteem given to the Teacher of Righteousness in our texts.

The Wicked Priest is said to have defiled the sanctuary and wrought abominations in Jerusalem,[4] and to have delivered wealth into the hands of the Kittim.[5] Menelaus is said in 2 Maccabees to have consented to many sacrileges that were committed in the city and to have led Antiochus into the sanctuary when that monarch removed the sacred vessels.[6] The Man of Scorn, or Prophet of Untruth,[7] could be identified with Antiochus Epiphanes. From the book of Daniel we know that he had a

[1] Cf. 2 Macc. iv. 7 ff. [2] Cf. Josephus, *Antiq.*, XII, iv. 2 (xii. 160).

[3] This view has long been current amongst writers of various schools. Cf. Moses Stuart, *Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (1850), p. 289 ; F. Hitzig, *Das Buch Daniel* (1850), p. 162 ; A. A. Bevan, *Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (1892), p. 157 ; J. D. Prince, *Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (1899), p. 160 ; K. Marti, *Das Buch Daniel* (1901), p. 70 ; M.-J. Lagrange, *R.B.* (N.S. i), xiii (1904), 512 ; S. R. Driver, *The Book of Daniel* (1922 ed.), p. 140 ; J. A. Montgomery, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (1929), p. 246 ; H. W. Obbink, *Daniël* (1932), p. 123 ; F. Nötscher, *Daniel* (1948), p. 48*b*. J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem zur Zeit Jesu*, ii B (1937), 42, thinks the text refers to the displacement of Onias by Jason.

[4] Cf. *Habakkuk Commentary*, col XII, lines 7 ff.

[5] Cf. *ibid.* col. IX, lines 6 f. [6] Cf. 2 Macc. iv. 39, v. 15 ff.

[7] In the *Zadokite Work*, i. 10 (p. I, lines 14 f.), the Man of Scorn is identified with the Prophet of Untruth. It is not clear here whether he is a foreign figure or an Israelite, but if he is to be identified with the Man of Untruth of the *Habakkuk Commentary*, he is most probably a foreign potentate, since he had rejected the Law among all peoples (col. V, lines 11 f.). A. Dupont-Sommer, *Aperçus préliminaires*, p. 50 n. (E. Tr., p. 38 n.) thinks the Prophet, or Man, of Untruth in the *Habakkuk Commentary* is to be identified with the Wicked Priest,

mouth speaking great things and that he exalted himself even against God.[1]

I have already noted that the sect of the Scrolls condemned polygamy and also marriage with a niece. It happens that Joseph, the Tobiad leader, married his niece under the most dishonourable and scandalous conditions,[2] and since he already had a wife who had borne him seven sons,[3] and who seems still to have been alive, we have a concrete case in the setting of that age, to connect with the *Zadokite Work's* castigation of those who did such things.

The expectation of the coming of the Messiah fits well into the apocalyptic hopes that are known to have been current in the second century B.C. It has been thought by some that the Teacher of Righteousness was expected to rise from the dead as the Messiah of Aaron and Israel.[4] Others find no evidence of this in the texts,[5] and I am of their number. The Messiah of Aaron and Israel does not mean a Messiah of priestly stock,[6] but

but this seems most improbable. In Dupont-Sommer's view the Wicked Priest is to be identified with Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, sometimes the one and sometimes the other being in mind. It is hard to see how either of these can be said to have rejected the Law among all peoples. It therefore seems more probable that the Wicked Priest is to be differentiated from the Man of Scorn or Prophet of Untruth, and that in the latter a non-Israelite person is to be found.

[1] Cf. Dan. vii. 8, 20, 25, xi. 36. The Little Horn is to be identified with Antiochus Epiphanes.

[2] Cf. Josephus, *Antiq.*, XII, iv. 6 (xii. 186 ff.). B. Reicke, *Studia Theologica*, ii (1949-50), 55, called attention to this.

[3] Cf. Josephus, *Antiq.*, XII, iv. 6 (xii. 186).

[4] So A. Dupont-Sommer, *Aperçus préliminaires*, p. 56 (E. Tr., p. 44).

[5] Cf. J. van der Ploeg, *Bi.Or.* viii (1951), 13; J. Bonsirven, *Études*, cclxviii (1951), 216; R. de Vaux, *La Vie Intellectuelle* (Apr. 1951), p. 67. Among scholars who had rejected this identification before the finding of the Dead Sea Scrolls, cf. G. F. Moore, *H.T.R.* iv (1911), 342; J. A. Montgomery, *B.W.*, N.S. xxxviii (1911), 376; J. B. Frey, *S.D.B.* i (1928), col. 399. L. Ginzberg finds some passages of the *Zadokite Work* to favour the identifying of the Teacher of Righteousness and the Messiah, and others to favour their differentiation. Cf. *M.G.W.J.* (N.F. xxii), lviii (1914), 160.

[6] R. H. Charles held that the reference was to the sons of Mariamne and Herod, who were of priestly descent from Aaron on their mother's side, and of Israel on their father's. Cf. *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, ii (1913), 795 f. It is hard to see how Herod, who was himself an Idumaean and the son of a Nabataean mother, could have given Israelite descent to his children, or how a woman could give an acceptable Aaronic descent to her children. Cf. my *Relevance of Apocalyptic* (2nd ed. 1947), p. 75.

a Messiah who should arise from and lead the sect—which consisted of Aaron and Israel, of priestly and levitical members on the one side, and of laity on the other.[1]

If Onias were the Teacher of Righteousness, the beginnings of the sect would have to be put before the change from Ptolemaic to Seleucid rule, when the issue of Hellenism was already very much alive. There were people at that time known as the Ḥasidim who were scandalized at the trends and who sought to show resolute loyalty to the Law. To such people Onias would be a leader and a hero during his High Priesthood, and the intrigues against him, and his removal from office and subsequent martyrdom, would only deepen their devotion to him. The outbreak of the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, after the death of Onias, and the revolt under the leadership of Judas Maccabaeus, would give the setting for the *War of the Sons of Light*. Apparently the Teacher of Righteousness played no part in that War or Ritual of War, and this may well be because he was no longer alive.

Within forty years of the death of the Teacher of Righteousness the migration to Damascus took place, and probably this was near the end of that period. The end of that period would fall in 131 B.C. This would mean that the *Zadokite Work* was composed before that date, though probably not much before it, and perhaps not very long after the migration to Damascus. By this time the Hasmonaeans had usurped the High Priesthood, and this would inevitably rouse the opposition of our sect, who may well have found it expedient to withdraw to Damascus. At that time the affairs of the Seleucid kingdom were subject to constant kaleidoscopic changes as one ruler or upstart followed another, and there was frequent internal strife and conflict. Indeed Jonathan and Simon extended their influence and power rather by playing one of these rivals off against another than by renewing the fighting which had marked the struggle of Judas. It may well have been,

[1] Cf. above. A. Vincent, *Ecclesia*, No. 27 (June 1951), p. 75, holds that the meaning is that the Messiah would be of Levite descent and of northern Israelite descent. This is most improbable. For the Children of Light are said in the *War of the Sons of Light* to consist of members of the tribes of Levi, Judah and Benjamin. It is therefore almost certain that Israel must stand for the non-priestly elements of the sect, and Levi for the priestly and Levitical members.

therefore, that at a time when Jerusalem and Damascus represented rival factions the refugees from Palestine could go to Damascus.[1]

The Star who reorganized the sect would stand between the death of Onias and the migration, and it may have been he who gave the sect the *Manual of Discipline* and who gave the communal character to its organization. At whatever time it had that communal character it would create a communal library. If the members brought all their goods to hand over to the sect, any books they had would be brought also. It is doubtful if private libraries were large or numerous at that time, but the fact that the possession of copies of the Scriptures was made an offence by Antiochus [2] shows that some copies were in private hands. If the sect valued books, as it clearly did since the cave of 'Ain Feshkha seems once to have contained nearly two hundred scrolls —a very large library in those times—then it would add to such books as came to it in this way. Some of the Biblical texts could well be older than the first formation of the sect, therefore, and the Leviticus Fragments in the archaic script seem certainly to belong to this class. Other Biblical texts could have been copied for the sect or by its own members, and since texts were *composed* by members of the sect there is no reason why Biblical and other texts could not have been *copied* by them.

[1] M. H. Segal, *Jerusalem Post* (26 May and 2 June 1950), and *J.B.L.* lxx (1951), 143 f., emphasizes the necessity to find a time when the administration of Damascus was different from the administration of Jerusalem. Were the *Zadokite Work* composed shortly after 172 B.C., as maintained by J. Quiring (in *From the Pyramids to Paul*, G. L. Robinson Festschrift, 1935, p. 199) and the migration to Damascus to have taken place before that date, this consideration would provide an important difficulty. But at a time shortly before 131 B.C. it would not. On Segal's view the members of the sect were allied with the Seleucid rulers of Damascus in their conflict with Alexander Jannaeus at the end of the century, while the Kittim were the Romans. This seems improbable, since (*a*) the Kittim would seem to be allied with the Wicked Priest and to be destructively and oppressively active in Palestine, and (*b*) while it is true that the Jewish enemies of Alexander Jannaeus appealed to the Seleucids for help against him (cf. Josephus, *Antiq.*, XIII, xiii. 5 (xiii, 376)), and later were shocked at the result of their policy (cf. Josephus, *Wars*, I, iv. 5 (i. 95)), the *Habakkuk Commentary* tells us of their assurance that judgment would be executed through the Elect of God.

[2] I Macc. i. 57 ff.

A modern library is housed on shelves, and when a library is created shelving for many years is provided. A library of scrolls could be more appropriately housed in jars, and a quantity of jars may well have been made for the library of the sect when it was first started. De Vaux objects that we have no evidence of a library being housed in jars,[1] and if they had been then we should have expected varieties of jars rather than a number of jars all alike.[2] This is not very cogent. We know beyond a peradventure that the scrolls were placed in jars when they were put in the cave. By what logic or evidence can we be assured that our sect first thought of jars for the storing of their manuscripts when they came to hide them? What evidence have we that the scrolls were kept in some different containers before being placed in the cave? And why, if so, were the same containers not used? And what would be more suitable for keeping scrolls in than jars? It is true that a library that had a long life and that grew rapidly would need added equipment. But we are not to think of growth at the rate of a modern library. The library that was deposited in the cave seems to have reached a maximum number of 200 texts. Of these a reasonable proportion might be expected to be provided for from the establishment of the library. At a later date some additional jars might be needed. Here it may not be without significance that more than one pattern of jar has been found in the cave.[3] Pottery cannot be precisely dated by style within a few years,[4] and late Hellenistic pottery did not cease to be made everywhere on a given date by decree, so that we must allow for the possibility that some decades separated the date of the making of some of the jars from the date of the making of

[1] Cf. *La Vie Intellectuelle* (Apr. 1951), pp. 63 ff., and *R.B.* lviii (1951), 439. P. Kahle, however, says the practice is well-known. Cf. *V.T.* i (1951), 41. Cf. also J. van der Ploeg, *J.E.O.L.*, No. 11 (1949-50), p. 42; J. T. Milik, *Biblica*, xxxi (1950), 504 ff.; R. Goossens, *La Nouvelle Clio*, i-ii (1949-50), 661 f.; G. R. Driver, *J.Q.R.*, N.S. xl (1949-50), 370 n.

[2] Cf. *La Vie Intellectuelle, loc. cit.*

[3] Cf. Sukenik, *Megillôth Genûzôth*, ii (1950), Plate I. Cf. G. E. Wright, *B.A.* xii (1949), 64, and R. de Vaux, *R.B.* lvi (1949), 589. O. R. Sellers, *B.A.* xii (1949), 55, says some of the jars had two handles, some three, some four, while some were without handles.

[4] Cf. A. Dupont-Sommer, *Aperçus préliminaires* (1950), pp. 21, 43 (E. Tr., pp. 15, 32).

others,[1] though it may be agreed that there are limits to the elasticity that may be supposed. Jars that were used for storing books in would last for a long time, since breakage under these conditions would not be excessive.[2] Hence while the jars may be late Hellenistic, and most of them may date from the second century B.C. and others perhaps from the first, some of the manuscripts that were kept in them could be of later origin or copied later.[3]

In the Maccabaean age there seems to have been a revival of Hebrew. Aramaic had become the popular tongue, and the stories of the book of Daniel were composed in that language. The latter portions of the book of Daniel were written in Hebrew, but the author wrote poorer Hebrew than Aramaic. It is probable that many of his contemporaries were less familiar with Hebrew than with Aramaic, and the manuscript of Isaiah that has been published in facsimile by the American Schools may have been written to help such readers.[4] It contains a number of variations from the Massoretic text, and while some of these may preserve superior readings, and some agree with the Septuagint and may go back to the manuscript copied, there are other variants which appear to be indications of carelessness on the part of the scribe.[5] The sect clearly attached great importance to the Scriptures, and it is improbable that a text which was intended for official use would have been copied carelessly. A copy which was intended to be used to facilitate the use of the Hebrew language might have been copied more carelessly. It is well known that many of the forms found in this manuscript have unusual endings,[6] and appear to have been read with an additional final vowel that is not represented either consonantally or by vowels in

[1] Cf. W. F. Albright, *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 115 (Oct. 1949), p. 13 n.; A. Parrot, in A. Lods, *Histoire de la littérature hébraïque et juive* (1950), pp. 1031 f.

[2] We are not to think of a library under modern conditions, with a constant stream of readers.

[3] It has been noted above that de Vaux now allows that the jars may be later than he had at first thought, and recognizes that the most recent evidence shows that similar jars were in use in the first century A.D.

[4] Cf. P. Kahle, *V.T.* i (1951), 42 f.

[5] Cf. H. M. Orlinsky, *J.B.L.* lxix (1950), 151: 'There can be no doubt that the scribe . . . was not a particularly careful one', p. 165; 'In addition to faulty copying and spelling, faulty memory was at work'.

[6] Cf. M. Burrows, *J.B.L.* lxviii (1949), 195 ff.

the Massoretic text. It has been remarked that this vowel persisted in Samaritan.[1] It may well be that it was written consonantally in this manuscript precisely to help readers who were not familiar with the Hebrew language. When the language was a living language it was not written and was not needed, and when the effort to revive Hebrew as a spoken tongue failed and Aramaic regained its position as the spoken language, while Hebrew became the language of the learned only, it was no longer needed. Later the Massoretic vowel system was created, but that was designed to preserve the sacred text with the utmost precision, rather than to teach people how to read and speak the language.[2] If this suggestion is right, then the probability of this Isaiah manuscript dating from the second century B.C., to which period it is dated palaeographically by several scholars,[3] would be high.

We have then to allow a long period for the use of this manuscript and for the additions that have been made to it. We have also to remember that the non-Biblical texts were not composed until some time after the Maccabaean struggle, in some cases at least, and that we have no reason to presume that we have author's autographs, and hence we may have to come down well below the end of the second century B.C. and perhaps into the Christian era, for the copying of some of these texts. It has been suggested that in one of the manuscripts there are the beginnings of a system of vocalization,[4] in which case we should have to come down to the post-Christian period for its present form.

[1] Cf. P. Kahle, *Die hebräischen Handschriften aus der Höhle* (1951), pp. 41 f.; H. Yalon, *Kirjath Sepher*, xxvii, No. 2-3 (June 1951), p. 171*b*.

[2] For the view of Kahle that Massoretic Hebrew was not the Hebrew of Palestine of the Biblical period, and that it differed from the earlier post-Biblical Hebrew, cf. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* (1947), pp. 85 ff., where earlier systems of vocalization are also discussed. Cf. also A. Sperber, *J.B.L.* lxii (1943), 137 ff., for a criticism of the current Hebrew grammars on the ground that they are based on an artificial medieval schematization, and Kahle, *op. cit.* p. 109 n., for a criticism of Sperber.

[3] Cf. S. A. Birnbaum, *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 113 (Feb. 1949), pp. 33 ff., No. 115 (Oct. 1949), pp. 20 ff.; and *V.T.* i (1951), 91 ff.; J. C. Trever, *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 113 (Feb. 1949), p. 19; W. F. Albright, *J.Q.R.*, N.S. xl (1949-50), 45, *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 111 (Oct. 1948), p. 2, and No. 118 (Apr. 1950), p. 6; W. R. Taylor, *University of Toronto Quarterly*, xix (1949-50), 331.

[4] Cf. O. H. Lehmann, *P.E.Q.* (1951), pp. 51 ff.

The strongest links of belief and practice that have been adduced would connect the sect of the Scrolls with the Essenes.[1] Yet there are differences between them and the Essenes [2] as they appear in the writings of Philo [3] and Josephus.[4] It may well be, however, that here we see them, or a group out of which the Essenes developed, in an earlier stage. From the passionate devotees of the national faith of the Maccabaean era there developed more than one of the Jewish sects and parties.[5] The beginnings of Pharisaism are to be sought there, and probably also the beginnings of Essenism and of other groups. If the sect of the Scrolls was reorganized under the Star, there is no reason to suppose that it knew no change after that time. If it did become the sect of the Essenes, then its members would seem to have returned from Damascus.[6] If it was from persecution that

[1] A. Dupont Sommer has maintained that the Essenes were the sect of the Scrolls. Cf. *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions* (1950), pp. 196 ff.; *Observations sur le Commentaire d'Habacuc* (1950), pp. 5 ff.; *La Nouvelle Clio*, i-ii (1949-50), 330 ff.; *Aperçus préliminaires*, pp. 36, 105 ff. (E. Tr., pp. 26, 85 ff.). Others before him had noted similarities between our sect and the Essenes. Cf. E. L. Sukenik, *Megillôth Genûzôth*, i (1948), 16; M. Burrows, *B.A.* xi (1948), 58; F. M. Cross, *B.A.* xii (1949), 39 n. Cf. also K. Schubert, in *Alttestamentliche Studien* (Festschrift Nötscher) (1950), pp. 232 f., and W. H. Brownlee, *B.A.* xiii (1950), 56 ff. While Dupont-Sommer has secured some following this view has been rejected by W. Baumgartner, *Th.R.*, N.F. xvii (1948-49), 337; W. Vischer, *Études Théologiques et Religieuses*, xxiv (1949), 34; M. Burrows, *Oudtestamentische Studiën*, viii (1950), 167 (cf. *J.Q.R.*, N.S. xlii (1951-52), 132). G. Lambert, *Le Manuel de Discipline du Desert de Juda* (1951), p. 4 n., holds that it is still premature to attempt to identify the sect.

[2] These are freely recognized by those who favour the Essene view, but it is thought that our sect might be a special variety of Essenes. The Essenes, as described to us in texts of the first century A.D., were celibate, but since some Essenes did not abstain from marriage it is supposed that our sect consisted of marrying Essenes. By most writers on the Essenes foreign influence on the sect is maintained. It is hard to think of the sect of the Scrolls as consciously admitting foreign influence. But here again it must be remembered that our evidence on the Essenes is of the first century A.D.

[3] Cf. *Quod omnis probus liber sit*, 75 ff.

[4] Cf. *Antiq.*, XVIII, i. 5 (xviii. 18 ff.); *Wars*, II, viii, 2 ff. (ii. 119 ff.).

[5] Cf. J. Bonsirven, *Le Judaïsme palestinien*, i (1936), 68: 'Aux siècles, qui ont précédé l'ère chrétienne, le Judaïsme fut travaillé par un grand mouvement de fermentation religieuse'. Cf. too H. Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 3rd ed., iv (1864), 482 ff.; L. Finkelstein, *The Pharisees*, i (1938), 77; J. Klausner, *Jesus of Nazareth* (1925), p. 202.

[6] In the time of Pliny the Essenes had settlements in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea. Cf. *Hist. Nat.* V, xvii (V, xv. 73 in Loeb edition).

they fled, then they might reasonably be expected to return when the danger from which they fled had passed. They were an intensely Jewish sect, who would not live amongst Gentiles from choice. And if they returned then they would not finally hide their books in a cave, never to recover them, until the sect finally ceased to exist in Palestine.[1] This would not be until some time

[1] A few scholars have revived earlier views which were put forward on the basis of the *Zadokite Work*, and have identified the sect of the Scrolls with groups that came into existence in the post-Christian era. Thus J. L. Teicher, *J.J.S.*, ii, No. 2 (1951), 91 ff. (= *Z.R.G.G.* iii (1951), 193 ff.), No. 3 (1951), pp. 115 ff., has claimed that the sect consisted of Ebionite Christians, since in the *Habakkuk Commentary*, col. XII, lines 2 ff., they refer to themselves as *'ebhyônîm*, or *poor*. He then identifies Jesus with the Teacher of Righteousness and Paul with the Prophet of Untruth. As W. Baumgartner says, we should have expected a more definitely Christian character for our texts if this view were right. Cf. *Th.R.*, N.F. xix (1951), 142. Moreover, it is hard to see how Paul could be said to have beguiled many in order to rebuild his town of vanity in blood (*Habakkuk Commentary*, col. X, lines 9 ff.), or with whom the Wicked Priest, who with his associates is said to have amassed great wealth by plundering the people (*ibid.* col. IX, lines 4 ff.), could be identified. Since Teicher says (*J.J.S.*, *loc. cit.* p. 129) that this refers to the money Paul collected from Gentile Christians for the Jerusalem church, he would appear either to identify Paul with the Wicked Priest, though he was not even of the tribe of Levi, or to hold him to have been intimately associated with some contemporary Priest to whom he handed over this money. A different view is presented by R. Eisler, who finds the Teacher of Righteousness to be John the Baptist. Cf. Letter to *The Times*, 8 September 1949, and *The Modern Churchman*, xxxix (1949), 284 ff. It is an insuperable difficulty for this view that Eisler finds himself compelled to find John the Baptist referred to as the High Priest, and then to find a reference to a giant, who is equated with Simon of Peraea, referred to by Josephus, *Antiq.*, XVII, x. 6 (xvii. 273 ff.), who rose as Messiah in 4 B.C., and who is held to be promised messianic authority in the text. If John the Baptist was mixed up in this affair he was rather young, while whether he is held to be involved in it or not, since the text was not written until after the death of the Teacher of Righteousness, the sect would scarcely be likely to remember in its writings a promise which experience had proved to be so false. Again H. E. del Medico, *Deux Manuscrits hébreux de la Mer Morte* (1951), identifies the sect with extremists who first came into existence under Judas of Galilee about the beginning of the Christian era, and who took their name from a certain Rabbi Zadok of that time, but who first became organized as a sect after A.D. 80 (pp. 63 f., 92 f.). He identifies the Teacher of Righteousness with Menahem, and the Wicked Priest with Ananias; also the House of Absalom with Menahem's officers, the chief of whom was named Absalom (pp. 133 ff.). It may be noted that Eisler identified the Man of Untruth with Menahem (cf. *Occident and Orient* (Gaster Anniversary Volume), 1936, p. 124). S. Talmon, *Biblica*, xxxii (1951), 549 ff., assigns the rise of the sect to about the same period, but offers a very different setting and rests his case

well on in the Christian era, and the Roman lamp and sherds may be the evidence of the date of the deposit and not of a subsequent entry.[1] In that case a copy of the *Zadokite Work* may have been amongst the texts deposited in the cave, as Kahle supposes.[2]

Why then is it that the only copies of this text that we have are of so much later date and come from Egypt? Professor Eissfeldt drew attention,[3] soon after the discovery of the Scrolls was known, to a story which is found in a letter of Timotheus to Sergius,[4] the Metropolitan of Elam. This tells of the accidental discovery of a cave in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea containing a number of manuscripts shortly before A.D. 800. From other writers during the next century and more[5] we find references to a so-called 'Cave Sect',[6] that was given this name, because their works were found in a cave.[7] It may well be, therefore, that this is the discovery referred to by Timotheus. Our information about the 'Cave Sect' comes principally from Ḳaraite sources, and is meagre enough. The Ḳaraite writer Ḳirḳisānī speaks of the Cave Sect and of the Zadokites in close succession.[8] It may be that the one name was given because of

wholly on the single consideration of the calendar. He recalls Rabban Gamaliel's treatment of Rabbi Joshua when he attempted to disregard the official calendar as evidence of concern on this question at that time. It is hard to find the terms used of the Wicked Priest in our texts relevant to Gamaliel, or to see why the Kittim, however they are identified, could be involved. The framing of a general theory about the Scrolls on a single consideration like this is greatly to be deprecated.

[1] Cf. A. Dupont-Sommer, *Aperçus préliminaires*, p. 44 (E. Tr., p. 32); P. Kahle, *V.T.* i (1951), 41, and *Die hebräischen Handschriften aus der Höhle* (1951), p. 17.

[2] Cf. *V.T.* i (1951), 46.

[3] Cf. *Th.L.Z.* lxxiv (1949), cols. 597 ff. Cf. also G. Lambert, *N.R.Th.* lxxii (1950), 199 ff.; R. de Vaux, *R.B.* lvii (1950), 417 ff.; F. V. Filson, *B.A.* xiii (1950), 96 f.; P. Kahle, *V.T.* i (1951), 44 ff.

[4] Cf. O. Braun, *Oriens Christianus*, i (1901), 299 f., where the text is published.

[5] Cf. R. de Vaux, *R.B.* lvii (1950), 421 ff., where attention was first called to these passages.

[6] Cf. L. Nemoy, *H.U.C.A.* vii (1930), 326 f., 363 f.; S. Poznánski, *R.E.J.* l (1905), pp. 13 ff. Cf. also de Vaux, *loc. cit.* pp. 427 f., 422, for citations from later writers al-Bīrūnī (cf. also Poznánski, *loc. cit.* pp. 16 f.) and Shahrastānī (cf. Poznánski, *loc. cit.* pp. 15 f.).

[7] Cf. L. Nemoy, *loc. cit.* pp. 326 f.

[8] He places the Cave Sect between the Zadokites and the disciples of Jesus, while Shahrastānī places them four centuries before Arius.

the place where their writings were discovered and the other because of the contents of the texts, and that this sect called itself the sons of Zadok like the sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Ḳirḳisānī and others appear to have confused the sons of Zadok with the Sadducees,[1] but what is recorded of the Zadokites and of the Cave Sect is curiously related to what we know of the sect of the Scrolls. The Zadokites are said to have forbidden marriage with a niece,[2] while the Cave Sect is said to have had calendar peculiarities and to have indulged in fanciful interpretation of Scripture.[3]

If it were the 'Ain Feshkha cave that was found about A.D. 800 and many of the manuscripts that were in the cave were removed, and fell into Ḳaraite hands, then the fact that only a few of the manuscripts the cave once contained were there in 1947 would be explained, and also the fact that many of the broken pieces of the jars found by the archaeologists were ancient breakages.[4] The texts that were removed and later received by the Ḳaraites would account for the connections between the sect of the Scrolls and the Ḳaraites and would explain why the Ḳaraites were called Zadokites. We should also understand why the Zadokite Work came to be copied so late in the tenth and eleventh or twelfth centuries, and how these copies came to be found in the Cairo Genizah. The many links with the Ḳaraites that have been found would be fully explained, and also the differences. For there are differences also between our sect and the Ḳaraites [5] that make it most improbable that they were written by Ḳaraites and

[1] He tells us that the Zadokites were founded by Zadok and Boethus, who were disciples of Antigonus of Soko. Cf. *H.U.C.A.* vii (1930), 326. He appears to have the Sadducees of the New Testament in mind, since otherwise the Sadducees would not figure in his work. Just as he differentiates the Cave Sect from the Zadokites, and the 'Ananites from the Ḳaraites ('Anan being the Founder of the Ḳaraites), because in each case two names were current for the sect concerned, so here he appears to confuse the Zadokites and the Sadducees because a single name was used for both.

[2] Cf. *H.U.C.A.*, *loc. cit.*

[3] Cf. *ibid.* p. 363.

[4] Cf. O. R. Sellers, *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 114 (Apr. 1949), p. 8 ; G. L. Harding, *P.E.Q.* (1949), p. 114 ; R. de Vaux, *La Vie Intellectuelle* (June 1949), p. 586.

[5] Cf. B. Revel, *J.Q.R.*, N.S. iii (1912-13), 352 ff., L. Ginzberg, *M.G.W.J.* (N.F. xxi), lvii (1913), 161, 404 ff., and especially p. 418.

reflect Ḳaraite teaching, as some have maintained.[1] Such a view is impossible to harmonize with the archaeological and palaeographical evidence, for our documents from the cave must be far older than the beginnings of Ḳaraism.[2] The direction of the influence must be from the sect of the Scrolls to the Ḳaraites and not from the Ḳaraites to the sect, and if the cave referred to by Timotheus were the cave of 'Ain Feshkha this would be fully explained.

The answers I would give to the three questions I put at the beginning of my lecture, therefore, are as follows: (1) The non-Biblical texts from the 'Ain Feshkha Cave and also the Zadokite Work were probably composed at various dates in the second century B.C. They emanated from a sect which took its rise before the Maccabaean age, and which took an active part in the conflict of that time, championing the faith of Israel and the Zadokite priesthood, but which later was persecuted and forced to migrate for a time to Damascus. (2) The manuscripts, Biblical and non-Biblical, which were found at 'Ain Feshkha, were copied at various dates ranging over a long period. Some, such as the Leviticus Fragments, are probably older than the foundation of the sect. Some, and especially the St. Mark's Isaiah manuscript, may have been copied during the second century B.C. for the use of the sect. Others, including copies of the non-Biblical works which were only composed in the second century B.C., are probably of later origin, and may have been written any time down to the date of the deposit in the cave. (3) The date of the deposit of the manuscripts in the cave cannot be defined with any precision. If they were deposited by Essenes, never to be recovered, this is unlikely to have been done until the

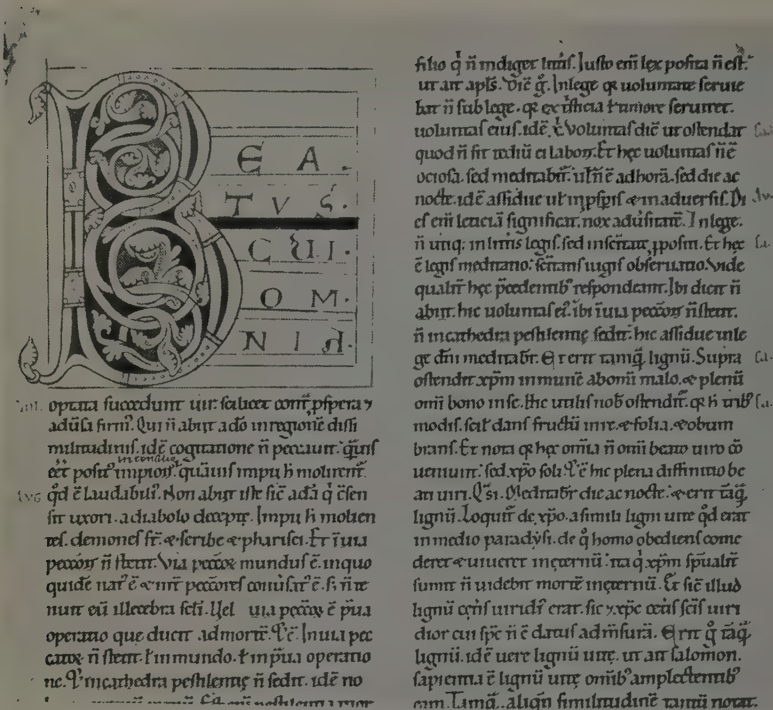
[1] So S. Zeitlin, *J.Q.R.*, N.S. xxxix (1948-49), 235 ff., 337 ff., xl (1949-50), 57 ff., 291 ff., 373 ff., xli (1950-51), 1 ff., 251 ff., 449, xlii (1951-52), 133 ff., and *Crozer Quarterly*, xxvi (1950), 35 ff.; P. R. Weis, *J.Q.R.*, N.S. xli (1950-51), 125 ff.

[2] The Founder of Ḳaraism was 'Anan, who flourished in the eighth century A.D. As to how far he had predecessors cf. L. Nemoy, in *Semitic Studies in Memory of Immanuel Löw* (1947), pp. 239 ff., and *J.Q.R.*, N.S. xl (1949-50), 307 ff. The Ḳaraites claimed that they were conserving the ancient doctrines, and if they had secured possession of ancient documents from the Cave and been influenced by their teaching this could be easily understood.

Essenes finally disappeared from Palestine. Since the Essenes were still near the Dead Sea in the time of Pliny this cannot have been before A.D. 70, and it is unlikely to have been before the time of the rising of Bar-Cochba in the second century A.D. This would allow for the long use of the Isaiah Scroll and for its repair and marginal additions, though it is possible that a much shorter time would suffice for this. If the manuscripts had formed the library of the sect for a long time before the hiding in the cave the jars could have been used for storing them and could therefore have been older than the date of the deposit.

These answers are only tentative answers, since we do not yet have access to all the material from the cave, but they seem to accommodate all the evidence so far known.[1]

[1] Much literature on the Dead Sea Scrolls has been published while this lecture has been in the press. It has not been possible to embody references to it here, save in one or two cases. Many titles will be found in the Bibliography which stands in the writer's book *The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, though complete access to all the vast and growing literature on the subject cannot be had by any one person.



Schmuckinitiale aus dem Psalmenkommentar des Petrus Lombardus, 12. Jh. (vgl. Anhang, Hs. Nr. 5, f. 3).
(Veröffentlicht mit gütiger Erlaubnis der John Rylands Library, Manchester.)

SKRIPTORIUM UND BIBLIOTHEK DER CISTERCIENSERABTEI HIMMEROD IM RHEINLAND: ZUR GESCHICHTE KLÖSTERLICHEN BIBLIOTHEKSWESENS IM MITTELALTER

DR. P. AMBROSIUS SCHNEIDER
S. O. CIST., ABTEI HIMMEROD

DER Cistercienserorden bedeutete im 12. Jahrhundert die grosse Reformbewegung in Kirche und Mönchtum. Er entstand aus einem starken Gegensatz zu dem von Cluny vertretenen monastischen Ideal. Cluny sah in dem feierlichen Chorgebet die fast ausschliessliche Beschäftigung des Mönches. Demgegenüber räumten die Reformer in ihrem Eifer für die buchstäbliche Befolgung der St. Benediktsregel neben der Handarbeit auch dem geistigen Leben den Platz ein, der ihm gemäss den Vorschriften des hl. Mönchsvaters zukam.[1] Das setzte eine stattliche Bibliothek voraus, zu deren Vermehrung fortlaufend Bücher kopiert werden mussten.

Aus diesem Grunde bildete das Skriptorium schon seit Anfang der im Jahre 1098 begonnenen Reform einen besonderen Teil der Klosteranlage. Vorbildlich war hierin das Stammkloster Cîteaux (bei Dijon in Burgund). Dort waren trotz der Schwierigkeiten der Neugründung in den Jahren 1098-1111 eine Anzahl prachtvoll ausgestatteter Handschriften entstanden. Die bedeutendste unter ihnen, das vierbändige Bibelwerk des hl. Abtes Stephan Harding, eines gebürtigen Engländers, wurde 1109 vollendet.[2] Schon die ersten Generalkapitelsbeschlüsse

[1] Über die lectio divina im Benediktinerorden vgl. Philibert Schmitz, *Geschichte des Benediktinerordens*, übersetzt von Ludwig Räber, 2. Bd. (Einsiedeln, 1948), S. 72.

[2] Vgl. C. Oursel, *La miniature du XII^e siècle à l'abbaye de Cîteaux d'après les manuscrits de Dijon* (Dijon, 1926), pp. 15-28; Karl (P. Augustinus) Lang, *Die Bibel Stephan Hardings. Ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte der neutestamentlichen Vulgata.* Theol. Diss., Bonn, 1939. Über die Persönlichkeit Stephan Hardings s. J. B. Dalgairns, *Life of Stephen Harding, abbot of Cîteaux* (London, 1898); Alice M. Cooke, "A study in twelfth century religious revival and reform", in THE BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, vol. 9 (1925), pp. 17 ff. (Sonderdruck); O. Ducourneau, *Origines Cisterciennes* (Ligugé, 1933), pp. 128-54; Gregor Müller, "Cîteaux vom Jahre 1109 bis 1119," in: *Cistercienser-Chronik*, hrg. von der Cistercienser Abtei Mehrerau, 28 (1916), S. 1 f.

befassen sich mit der Errichtung von Skriptorien, in denen nach altem Brauch (ex consuetudine[1]) erfahrene Mönche der Abschreibetätigkeit obliegen durften. Diese waren von der Feldarbeit befreit und konnten sich untereinander mit Zeichen verständigen.[2] In späterer Zeit entband man die Schreiber weitgehend von der klösterlichen Tagesordnung; so vollendet z.B. im Jahre 1468 der Himmeroder Mönch Johannes Fritsch aus St. Vith die Abschrift eines Traktates um 10 Uhr Abends.[3]

Die im Skriptorium verfertigten Handschriften gelangten in das Armarium, wie man anfänglich die Bibliothek bezeichnete. Das Armarium war ein kleiner, meist fensterloser Raum; es befand sich im östlichen Kreuzgang zwischen Kirche und Kapitelsaal. In die Wand eingelassene Nischen nahmen die Bücher auf. Sie wurden zunächst vom Kantor, der zugleich das Amt des Archivars bekleidete, verwaltet und von ihm an die einzelnen Mönche ausgegeben.[4] Mit der Zeit erwiesen sich diese bescheidenen Bibliotheksräume als unzureichend, zumal das Anwachsen der Konvente eine Vermehrung der Bücherbestände erforderte. Wesentlich trug dazu bei, dass seit der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts die Mönche auch Priester wurden und somit eine gründlichere wissenschaftliche Ausbildung benötigten. Zur Hebung der geistigen Belange und zur Schaffung eines tüchtigen Dozentennachwuchses gründete der Cistercienserorden jetzt die nachmals so berühmten studia generalia in

[1] Cistercii statuta antiquissima edidit Jos. Turk, in: *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis*, Annus IV (Citta del Vaticano, 1948), Nr. 87, S. 28; Jos. M. Canivez, *Statuta Capitulorum generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis*, Bd. I (Louvain 1933), p. 32, Nr. LXXXV.

[2] "Coci . . . et qui libros emendant de sibi necessariis inter se significare poterunt . . ." (*Analecta, loc. cit.* p. 90); d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Études sur l'état intérieur des abbayes cisterciennes au XII^e et XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1858), p. 59s.

[3] ". . . Completum est tractatulus iste in profesto beate Katherine virginis et martiris in nocte circa horam decimam anno M°CCCC° LXVIII° per me fratrem Johannem fritsch de sancto vito . . ." (Vgl. Anhang, Hs. Nr. 120).

[4] Die sich auf das Archiv-und Bibliothekswesen erstreckende Amtstätigkeit des Kantors beschreiben die Consuetudines Cisterciensium: ". . . Professiones de manu abbatis recipere et seruare, cartas, libros seruare. . . . Post collationem armarium debet firmare, et tempore laboris, dormitionis et refectionis et dum vespere cantantur, obseruatum tenere . . ." (*Analecta S.O. Cist.*, annus VI [1950], p. 123).

Paris (1245), Montpellier (1260), Oxford (1280), Toulouse (1281) und Heidelberg (1386), um nur die wichtigsten zu nennen.

Dieser bedeutsame Umschwung bedingte die Einführung eines neuen Amtes—des Armarius—, der fortan die Leitung von Skriptorium, Bibliothek und Archiv übernahm.[1] Seit dem 15. Jahrhundert wurden schliesslich geräumige Bibliotheksbauten errichtet, wovon uns das Stammkloster Cîteaux heute noch eine gute Vorstellung gibt.[2]

Die Entwicklung der Himmeroder Bibliothek

Die Cistercienserabtei Himmerod (Diözese Trier) entstand als Tochterkloster von Clairvaux in Burgund (1134-38).[3] Bescheiden waren die Anfänge ihrer Bibliothek. Gewöhnlich gab ein Mutterkloster dem Gründerkonvent leihweise die wichtigsten liturgischen Bücher zum Abschreiben mit.[4] Diesen Grundbestand bemühte man sich durch Abschreiben weiterer entliehener Handschriften für geistliche Lesung und Studienzwecke zu erweitern. Auch das Generalkapitel nahm verschiedentlich Veranlassung, den Klöstern den Wert und die Pflege der Bibliothek als " thesaurus monachorum " [5] nahezulegen.

Die älteste Himmeroder Handschrift stammt aus dem 11. Jahrhundert und enthält Fragmente von Predigten verschiedener Kirchenväter.[6] Da sich darin keine Hinweise auf die Vorbesitzer

[1] " De cartis et libris faciendis et custodiendis, prouideat abbas, cui hanc curam iniungat . . ." (Anhang Hs., Nr. 60, fol. 65r = Nomasticon Cisterciense edidit Hugo Séjalon [Solesmes 1892], p. 205).

[2] Der Bibliotheksbau von Cîteaux ist einer der wenigen erhaltenen Beispiele aus dem Spätmittelalter ; er wurde von Abt Jean de Cirey (1476-1501) errichtet. Vgl. Tiburtius Hümpfner, " Aus der Bibliothek von Cîteaux ", in : *Cist. Chr.*, 38 (1926), S. 343-346 (darin auch eine Abbildung dieser Bibliothek).

[3] Über die Gründungsgeschichte Himmerods vgl. Carl Wilkes, Die Zisterzienserabtei Himmerode im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert (*Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums u. des Benediktinerordens*, Heft 12), Münster i. W., 1924, S. 23-26.

[4] Es sind : Missale, epistolare, textus, collectaneum, gradale, antiphonarium, regula, hymnarium, psalterium, lectionarium, Kalendarium. Über die Identität dieser Bücher wachten die Generalkapitel-entsprechend den Einheitsbestrebungen des Ordens—strenge ; vgl. *Analecta S.O. Cist.*, IV (1948), Nr. 3, p. 16 ; Canivez, *loc. cit.* I, p. 13, Nr. III.

[5] So befiehlt z. B. das Generalkapitel im Jahre 1454 einigen englischen Klöstern, zur Reparatur der wichtigsten schadhaften Handschriften jährlich 40 Schilling zu verwenden. Vgl. Canivez, *loc. cit.*, IV (1936), p. 714, Nr. 95.

[6] Vgl. Anhang Hs., Nr. 1.

befinden, konnte nicht ermittelt werden, wann sie nach Himmerod gelangt ist. Der gleichen Zeit gehören zwei weitere Handschriften[1] an. Der nachweisbar früheste Codex des Himmeroder Skriptoriums ist das 1154 vollendete Predigtwerk des hl. Augustinus über das Johannesevangelium.[2] Im Hinblick auf den blühenden Konvent, der bis zu Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts stetig anwuchs,[3] können wir in den beiden ersten Jahrhunderten der Himmeroder Geschichte auf einen Bücherbestand von etwa 100-200 Bänden schliessen.[4]

Nach den Quellen gehen nur wenige Codices auf Schenkung oder Kauf zurück. Die bedeutendste Schenkung machte wohl der Speyrer Stadtarzt Walter, der im Jahre 1322 seinem Bruder Petrus, einem Himmeroder Mönche, seine gesamten Bücher testamentarisch überwies. Jedoch verschweigt die Urkunde Zahl und Titel der geschenkten Bände.[5] Ferner brachten sicherlich auch andere Mönche bei ihrem Eintritt Bücher mit oder vermachten die während ihres Ordenslebens geschenkten dem Kloster.[6] Die drei ältesten, schon aus dem 11. Jahrhundert stammenden Handschriften[7] können nur durch Schenkung oder Kauf in den Besitz des Klosters gelangt sein. Dagegen wurden die "Vitae et Sermones" des hl. Bernhard nach einem darin befindlichen Eintrag im Jahre 1468 von dem Cistercienserinnenkloster Löwenbrücken bei Trier zur Schuldentilgung an Himmerod überlassen.[8]

Wir gehen daher nicht fehl, wenn wir den aussergewöhnlichen Bestand und die Reichhaltigkeit der Klosterbibliothek auf die eifrige Abschreibetätigkeit in Himmerod zurückführen.[9]

[1] Ebda Nr. 2, 3. [2] Ebda Nr. 4.

[3] Noch 1224 setzt der Abt von Clairvaux die Höchstzahl des Himmeroder Konventes auf 60 Mönche und 200 Konversen fest (vgl. Anhang, Hs. Nr. 112, fol. 41^{v}).

[4] Noch heute sind aus dem 11.-13. Jahrhundert 64 Pergamenthandschriften erhalten.

[5] Vgl. Ambrosius Schneider, *Die Cistercienserabtei Himmerod im Spätmittelalter. Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte.* Diss. phil., Mainz, 1950 (Manuskript), S. 200.

[6] So trägt z.B. Lat. fol. 767 (Anhang, Hs. Nr. 116) nachstehenden Eintrag: "Iste liber pertinet ad monasterium de hymmenroede et est fratri Nicolao de sancto vito, monacho et professo in hymmenrode, commissus . . ." (fol. 223^{r}).

[7] Vgl. Anhang, Nr. 1-3.

[8] Vgl. Anhang, Hs. Nr. 54. [9] Schneider, a.a.O.

Die Handschriften mit Schreibernotizen sind verhältnismässig gering; von den 137 bis heute nachweisbaren Himmeroder Codices finden sich solche nur in 21 Fällen. Das ist umso bedauerlicher, als gerade sie uns über die Schreibtätigkeit im Kloster und die Persönlichkeiten der einzelnen Kopisten willkommenen Aufschluss geben könnten. Vermutlich sind kurz vor oder nach der Aufhebung der Abtei aus vielen Handschriften die Schreibernotizen, ebenso wie zahlreiche Besitzvermerke herausgeschnitten bezw. getilgt worden, um ihre Herkunft zu verschleiern. Die uns bekannten Himmeroder Schreibermönche sind:

12. *Jahrhundert.*

1. Albertus scriptor:
2. Menerus (Meinerus) cantor: } 1154 Augustinus, Sermones (Nr. 4).[1]

13. *Jahrhundert.*

3. Adolphus: Albuinus, De virtutibus et vitiis (Nr. 61).

14. *Jahrhundert.*

4. Bertramus: 1345 Chartularium Himmerodense (Nr. 69-71).
5. Andreas piscatoris de Lutzenburgh: 1355 Directorium Ord. Cist. (Nr. 77).
6. Laurentius de Wede:[2] 1378 Chartularium des Cistercienserinnenklosters St. Thomas a.d. Kyll,[3] 1406 Nekrolog des Prämonstratenserinnenklosters Engelport bei Karden/Mosel.[4]

15. *Jahrhundert.*

7. Johannes campanatoris de Budingen:[5] Jacobus Magni (Nr. 99).
8. Henricus de Leodio:[6] 1438 Regula S. Benedicti (Nr. 112).

[1] Die eingeklammerten Nummern weisen auf den im Anhang befindlichen Handschriftenkatalog hin.

[2] Neuwied/Rh., Bez. Koblenz.

[3] Heute im Staatsarchiv Koblenz, Abt. 171, Nr. 476.

[4] Vgl. Christ. v. Stramberg, "Nekrolog der Abtei Engelport" (*Archiv für Rheinische Geschichte*, II. Teil, Coblenz, 1835, S. 1-94).

[5] Büdingen/Kr. Merzig im Saargebiet.

[6] Lüttich/Belgien.

9. Theodericus de Leydis :[1] 1445 Conclusiones circa 4 libros sec. St. Thomam (Nr. 98); ca 1467 Johannes de Tambaco, De consolatione theologiae (Nr. 100).
10. Hermannus de Ludensdorf :[2] 1441 Malogranatum (Nr. 101).
11. Johannes de Treveri :[3] 1463 Caesarius Heisterbacensis, Dialogus miraculorum (Nr. 95).
12. Arnoldus fabri : 1471 Sermones dominicales (Nr. 118).
13. Johannes fritsch de S. Vito :[4] 1468 Tractatus varii (Nr. 120).
14. Johannes ceyll : 1479 Aristoteles, Libri ethicorum (Nr. 93).
15. Johannes de Cochem :[5] 1457 Speculum virtutum etc. (Nr. 119).
16. Johannes lutzinck de Andernaco :[6] 1473 Sermones (Nr. 107).
17. Johannes Siberg de Colonia :[7] 1484 zwei Repertorien zur Regel des hl. Benedikt (Nr. 114/115).
18. Johannes loege de Andernaco : 1464 Nachträge und Verzeichnisse zu Nr. 98.

16. *Jahrhundert.*

19. Bertrandus de Lymburgh :[8] " scriptor indefessus ".[9]
20. Petrus Reiff de Merl :[10] 1517 liber devotissimarum orationum (Nr. 130).
21. Ambrosius Schneidt Cochemensis (1596-1612 Abt): " Optimus scriba ";[11] " . . . etiam calligraphia plurimum excelluit . . ."[12]

Besonderes Interesse verdienen die Verse, welche die Schreibermönche nach Vollendung ihrer mühevollen Arbeit an den Schluss ihrer Handschriften setzten.[13] Meist beenden sie die-

[1] Leyden/Holland.
[2] Leutesdorf/Rh., Bez. Koblenz.
[3] Trier.
[4] St. Vith/Neubelgien.
[5] Kochem/Mosel, Bez. Koblenz.
[6] Andernach/Rh., Bez. Koblenz.
[7] Köln/Rh.
[8] Limburg/Lahn.
[9] Anhang, Hs. Nr. 136, p. 301.
[10] Merl/Mosel, Bez. Trier.
[11] Anhang, Hs. Nr. 137, p. 67.
[12] Ebda Hs. Nr. 136, p. 344.
[13] Über die Schlussnotizen der Schreiber vgl. W. Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1896[3]), S. 495-534.

selben mit einem Lobpreis Christi und einer Bitte um das Gebet der Leser. Zu den häufigsten Formeln gehören:

Finito libro sit laus et gloria Xpisto. Amen (13. Jh.).[1]

Explicit iste liber, sit Adolphus crimine liber (13. Jh.);[2] oder:

Explicit iste liber, sit scriptor crimine liber (14. Jh.).[3]

Dic lector Christo, dic scriptori miserere (13. Jh.).[4]

Hec qui scripta legis, rogo scriptoris memoreris (13. Jh.).[5]

Erst im Zeitalter des Humanismus werden die Schlussnotizen ausführlicher. Wir erfahren jetzt vielfach die früher so selten überlieferten Namen der Kopisten und die Abfassungszeit; auch die Bitte um das Gebet der Leser fehlt nicht. So schliesst z.B. eine Handschrift aus dieser Zeit: "... Explicit dyalogus dictum malogranatum ... fuit conscriptus et completus per fratrem hermannum de ludesdorff die beatorum dyonisii sociorumque eius sub anno domini millesimo CCCC^0 quadragesimo primo. Orate pro eo propter deum."[6]

Literarische Beziehungen Himmerods zu anderen Klöstern sind nur dürftig überliefert. Sie bestanden in erster Linie mit dem Mutterkloster Clairvaux, das der Himmeroder Schreibstube mit ziemlicher Sicherheit die Vorlage für das "Speculum Virginum"[7] lieferte. Aus den Cistercienserinnenklöstern Löwenbrücken bei Trier und Himmelspforten (Kr. Soest i. Westf.) kamen die Vita S. Bernardi[8] bezw. ein Liber precum[9] in die Bibliothek. Mit benachbarten Büchereien stand Himmerod in gegenseitigem Austausch. So bittet z.B. ein ungenannter Abt des 14. Jahrhunderts einen Dominikanermönch, ihm ein Predigtwerk zur Abschrift zu überlassen.[10] Ein andermal erhält das Kloster aus der Benediktinerabtei St. Matthias bei Trier die Gesta Trevirorum. Darüber stellte Himmerod eine Empfangsbestätigung aus, die erst nach Rückgabe der wertvollen Handschrift wieder ausgehändigt wurde.[11]

Starke Anregung für das geistige Leben bot das Universitätsstudium Himmeroder Mönche. Manches Buch mögen die

[1] Anhang, Hs. Nr. 73, fol. 60^v.
[2] Ebda Nr. 61, fol. 145^r.
[3] Ebda Nr. 66, fol. 18^v.
[4] Ebda Nr. 5, fol. 197^r.
[5] Ebda Nr. 24, fol. 113^r.
[6] Ebda Nr. 101, fol. 294^r.
[7] Vgl. Anhang, Hs. Nr. 27.
[8] Ebda Nr. 54.
[9] Ebda Nr. 102.
[10] Ebda Nr. 82, fol. 32v^a.
[11] Vgl. Schneider, a.a.O., S. 201, Anm. 22.

anfänglich in Paris, später in Köln, Heidelberg, Erfurt und Trier weilenden Studenten heimgebracht haben. Von besonderem Interesse für die Geschichte der Studien ist eine Schreibernotiz in den "Conclusiones circa quatuor libros sententiarum" des Pariser Theologieprofessors und späteren Cistercienserabtes Humbert von Preuilly.[1] Daraus geht hervor, dass Himmerod um die Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts, also zur Zeit seines wirtschaftlichen Tiefstandes,[2] noch Mönche in andere Klöster mit bewährtem Hausstudium—in diesem Falle nach Bonfont in Frankreich—schickte. Ausserdem erfahren wir, dass der Himmeroder Student Fr. Theoderich aus Leyden in seiner Freizeit den erwähnten Sentenzenkommentar abschrieb.

Vor allem waren die Äbte um ständige Vermehrung der Bibliothek bemüht. Bootz[3] rühmt dies in besonderem Masse Abt Heinrich aus Luxemburg (1311-15) nach, der u.a. 1315 die Kirchengeschichte des Bischofs Eusebius von Cäsarea kopieren liess.[4]

Skriptorium und Bibliothek erlebten in der 2. Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts ihre höchste Blüte. Aus dieser Zeit datiert auch die erste Nachricht über den Bestand der Himmeroder Bücherei. Sie soll, nach einer Mitteilung des Humanisten Matthias Agritius (+ 1613 als Oblate in Himmerod) im Jahre 1453 2000 Bände betragen haben.[5] Agritius stützte sich bei dieser Angabe auf zwei Inventarverzeichnisse, die seit der Aufhebung des Klosters verschollen sind.[6] Die Bedeutung der Himmeroder Bücherei gewinnt noch an Bedeutung, wenn wir diese mit zeitgenössischen Bibliotheken vergleichen: so zählte z.B. die Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg im Jahre 1461 841 Werke mit 1600 Bänden;[7] 1472 sind in Clairvaux 1714 Handschriften,[8] währendhingegen die Cistercienserabteien Lehnin in der Mark Brandenburg gegen

[1] Vgl. Anhang, Hs. Nr. 98, fol. 249r.

[2] Vgl. Schneider, a.a.O. S., 19 f., 196 f.

[3] "... Multos MMSS. libros fieri curavit Henricus his diebus ..." (Anhang, Hs. Nr. 136, p. 185).

[4] Ebda Nr. 80.

[5] Stadtbibliothek Trier Hs. Nr. 1390/450, fol. 203v.

[6] "... ut index unus atque alter habet ..." (*ibid.*).

[7] H. Keussen, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kölner Universität", in: *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte u. Kunst*, 18 (1899), S. 316.

[8] Marcel Aubert, *L'Architecture cistercienne en France*, II (Paris 1947), p. 46.

Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts 986, Altzelle und Grünhain in Sachsen 1514 etwa 960 bezw. 650 Nummern besitzen.[1]—Trotzdem mit der Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst eine neue Epoche im Bücherwesen angebrochen war, wurden im Himmeroder Skriptorium noch weiter seltene Werke abgeschrieben. Allein in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts entstanden in Himmerod nachweislich 30 Handschriften. Ein weiteres Betätigungsfeld fanden die Schreibermönche in der Illuminierung der in den Inkunabeln offengelassenen Initialen. Im 16. Jahrhundert verödet das Himmeroder Skriptorium immer mehr. Nur in ganz vereinzelten Fällen hören wir von der Weiterpflege der einst so fruchtbaren Abschreibetätigkeit der Mönche.

Bei einem so mächtig angewachsenen Bestand, der durch den aufblühenden Buchhandel und die eifrige Pflege der Wissenschaften im Kloster noch weitere Vermehrung fand, erwies sich das Armarium zu klein. Daher errichtete Abt Jakob aus Hillesheim (1498-1510) im Jahre 1506 [2] einen lichten und geräumigen [3] Bibliotheksbau. Er befand sich an der Südwestecke des Konventsgebäudes.

Um die gleiche Zeit, da die Klosterbibliothek ihre grösste Blüte erlebte, setzten auch schon die Bedrohungen ihres Bestandes ein.[4] Der resignierte Abt Johannes VI aus St. Vith (1429-49) nimmt verschiedene Bücher in den Klosterhof Rohr bei Koblenz mit. In zwei Mandaten befiehlt daraufhin das Generalkapitel dem Abte unter Androhung empfindlicher Strafen, die entwendeten Bücher baldmöglichst zurückzuerstatten.[5] Das Generalkapitel, das auch sonst streng gegen Bücherentwendungen und leichtsinniges Verleihen einschritt,[6] konnte in diesem Falle noch eine Entfremdung verhindern. Weit ernster waren dagegen die Schädigungen der Bibliothek im 16. Jahrhundert. Damals wurde eine grössere Anzahl Bände von dem Trierer Erzbischof

[1] Kl. Löffler, *Deutsche Klosterbibliotheken* (1. *Vereinsschrift der Görresgesellschaft*, Köln, 1918), S. 10.

[2] Bootz, *loc. cit.* p. 289.

[3] "... Jacobus ... bibliothecam spatiosam et fenestris altis ad utrumque polum explicatis claustro maiori occidentem versus superimposuerit ..." (*ibid.*).

[4] Schneider, a.a.O., S. 203.

[5] Canivez, *loc. cit.*, IV, p. 701, Nr. 42; V, p. 6., Nr. 30.

[6] Z.B. *ibid.* III, p. 484, Nr. 20; IV, p. 170, Nr. 43; V, p. 507., Nr. 41.

Johann III von Metzenhausen (1531-40) zur Vorbereitung einer Provinzialsynode und von Kaiser Ferdinand I (1558-64) für das Konzil von Trient entliehen. Agritius berichtet, dass die Bücher nicht mehr an ihren Standort zurückgelangten.[1] Die schwerste Schädigung erlitt die Bibliothek durch den Brand des Wittlicher Pfarrhauses (1569), wohin wegen drohender Kriegsgefahr die wichtigsten Handschriften, Urkunden und Drucke [2] in Sicherheit gebracht worden waren.

Weitere Einbussen erfuhr die Klosterbücherei in den langen Kriegszeiten des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. Sehr oft musste damals der Konvent mit den wertvollsten Codices und Urkunden auf die Burgen benachbarter Adeliger flüchten.[3] Allein im Jahre 1632 wird das Kloster dreimal vor plündernden Söldnerhorden geräumt.[4]

Um die Vermehrung der schwer geschädigten Bibliothek machte sich der Cellerar Johannes Roder aus St. Vith, der nachmalige Abt Johannes IX (1581-91) durch grosse Büchereinkäufe verdient,[5] noch mehr aber Abt Robert Bootz aus Grosslittgen (1685-1730). Abt Robert ordnete Archiv und Bibliothek von Grund auf neu. Zahlreiche Anschaffungen zeugen von seinem regen wissenschaftlichen Interesse, das ihn trotz vielfacher Amtsgeschäfte als Visitator und Generalvikar des Ordens bis ins hohe Alter auszeichnete.[6] Seine Bedeutung für den geistigen Aufschwung der Abtei im beginnenden 18. Jahrhundert haben wohl am besten die beiden Maurinermönche Martène und Durand bei ihrem Besuche in Himmerod (1718) erkannt.[7] Ihr

[1] Vgl. S.162, Anm. 5.

[2] " . . . praecipue pars MMSS. Himmenrodensium, documentorum in authenticis monumentis et libris, . . . securitatis causa Wittlichium ad domum parochialem . . . translata . . . a.D. 1569 . . . incendio perierunt . . ." (Bootz, *loc. cit.* p. 315).

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 307, 331, 340s, 348s, 352, 356, 362, 364, 381, 406.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 362.

[5] " . . . librorum auidissimo emptore . . ." (*Stadtbibliothek Trier, loc. cit.* fol. 203v; Bootz, *loc. cit.* p. 326).

[6] Vgl. Ambrosius Schneider, *Cistercienserabtei Himmerod,* 1138-1938 (Himmerod, 1938), S. 62 ff.

[7] Vgl. *Voyage littéraire de deux religieux bénédictins,* II (Paris 1724), pp. 276 ss. s. dazu Ambrosius Schneider, " Maurinerbesuch in Heisterbach und Himmerod", in : *Cist. Chr.*, 51 (1939), S. 84 ff.

Ziel war, in der Klosterbibliothek nach etwa unveröffentlichten Handschriften zu forschen. Der Reisebericht gibt einen, wenn auch späten Einblick in den Himmeroder Bücherbestand: er umschloss ausschliesslich Werke der Väter und nur wenige historische Arbeiten.[1] Besondere Beachtung fand eine aus dem 13. Jahrhundert stammende Handschrift mit allen Briefen und einigen Abhandlungen der hl. Hildegard von Bingen; daraus veröffentlichte Martène 83 bisher unbekannte Briefe.[2] Der damals von Abt Robert nach Paris entliehene-Codex ist seitdem verschollen. Eine andere Himmeroder Handschrift, die fälschlich dem hl. Hieronymus zugeschriebene "Expositio super Jeremiam,"[3] gelangte zurück.

Inhalt der Bibliothek

Die Handschriften der ehemaligen Himmeroder Bibliothek umfassen die verschiedensten Wissensgebiete, entbehren also nicht einer gewissen Universalität. Die Philosophie ist ziemlich dürftig vertreten durch einige Schriften des Aristoteles. Dass die Philosophie übrigens gegenüber der Theologie etwas in den Hintergrund tritt, entspricht durchaus dem Gang der Entwicklung der Studien im Cisterzienserorden.[4] Man legte eben das Hauptgewicht auf eine gründliche theologische Schulung der Mönche. Erst seit der Gründung der Ordenskollegien wandte man sich auch den übrigen Wissensgebieten zu.

Unter den Väterhandschriften finden wir Werke der 4 grossen abendländischen Kirchenlehrer Augustinus (+ 430), Ambrosius (+ 397), Hieronymus (+ 420) und Gregor d. Gr. (+ 604). Das patristische Zeitalter ist ferner vertreten mit Werken von Gregor v. Nyssa, Gregor v. Nazianz, Johannes Damaszenus, Johannes Chrysostomus, Origines und Rufinus. In der Exegese stösst man neben den Kirchenvätern auf Werke von Hesychius v. Jerusalem (+ nach 450), Isidor v. Sevilla (+ 636), des Fuldaer Mönches Haimo (+ 853), von Hrabanus Maurus (+ 856),

[1] *Voyage littéraire*, II, p. 277.

[2] Ap. Migne, *P.L.*, t. 197, pp. 281 et seq.

[3] Vgl. Anhang, Hs. Nr. 44.

[4] Bruno Griesser, "Schreibstube und Bibliothek des Klosters Heilsbronn unter Abt Heinrich v. Hirschlach" (*Festgabe zum diamantenen Priesterjubiläum v. P. Gregor Müller*, Bregenz, 1926), S. 48.

Gilbert de la Porrée (+ 1154) und Stephan Langton (+ 1228 als Erzbischof v. Canterbury).—In der aszetisch-mystischen Theologie dominiert die Viktorinerschule mit ihren Hauptvertretern Hugo (+ 1141) und Richard v. St. Viktor (+ 1173), sowie Abt Absalon v. Springiersbach (+ 1203). Ausserdem lagen Werke der Benediktiner Rupert v. Deutz (+ 1135) und Konrad v. Hirsau (+ um 1150), der hl. Benediktinerinnen Elisabeth v. Schönau (+ 1164) und Hildegard v. Bingen (+ 1179), des hl. Bernhard v. Clairvaux (+ 1153), des französischen Augustiners Johannes Gerson (+ 1429) und der hl. Franziskanertheologen Bonaventura (+ 1274) und Bernhardin v. Siena (+ 1444) vor.

In der spekulativen Theologie überwiegt deutlich der Einfluss der Scholastik durch Traktate Anselms v. Canterbury (+ 1109), des Petrus Lombardus (+ 1160), des Petrus Manducator (+ um 1179), des hl. Thomas v. Aquin (+ 1274) und der beiden Dominikaner Ulricus Engelberti (+ 1277) und Bernardus de Parentinis (+ Mitte 14. Jh.).

Überraschend gross ist die Zahl der Predigtwerke. Unter ihnen finden wir neben altchristlichen und frühmittelalterlichen Namen auch zeitgenössische Prediger; z.B. die Franziskaner Antonius v. Padua (+ 1231), Berthold v. Regensburg (+ 1272) und Konrad von Sachsen (+ 1279).—An geschichtlichen Werken sind die Kirchengeschichte des Bischofs Eusebius v. Cäsarea, Briefe der hl. Hildegard v. Bingen, die metrische "Historia Apollonii regis Tyri" des Chronisten Gottfried v. Viterbo (+ 1191), die Papst- und Kaisergeschichte des Dominikaners Martin v. Troppau (+ 1278), das Fragment einer Papstgeschichte, die "Gesta Trevirorum" und verschiedene Abhandlungen des berühmten Humanisten Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini (+ 1439 als Papst Pius II) zu nennen.—Das Kirchenrecht weist nur drei Nummern auf, was bei der anfänglich ablehnenden Haltung des Cistercienserordens gegen das kanonistische Studium nicht verwundern darf.[1] Es sind zwei Fragmente Dekretaliensammlungen und die Summa des Dominikanerheiligen Raymund v. Penyfort (+ 1275). Einen breiten Raum nehmen die ordensgeschichtlichen Werke ein. Sie umfassen die "Regula

[1] Vgl. Benedikt Hene, "Das Studium des kanonischen Rechtes im Cistercienserorden", in: *Cist. Chr.*, 20 (1908), S. 111-16, 135-41.

S. Benedicti", die "Carta caritatis", das "Exordium Magnum Ord. Cist.", einen Liber usuum sowie verschiedene Sammlungen von Generalkapitelsbeschlüssen und Privilegien.—Zahlreich sind die hagiographischen Werke. Unter ihnen finden sich die Lebensbeschreibungen der hl. Äbte Maurus (+ 584) und Bernhard v. Clairvaux (+ 1153), des sel. David v. Himmerod (+ 1179), der hl. Elisabeth v. Thüringen (+ 1231), der sel. Begine Maria v. Oignies (+ 1213), eine Sammlung frühchristlicher Heiligenleben und Himmeroder Wundererzählungen.—Von antiken Klassikern sind lediglich die Briefe Senecas an Lucilius erhalten. Zwei Handschriften mit Zeittafeln und astronomischen Zeichnungen erinnern an die damals so wichtige Berechnung der Festzeiten.

Besitzvermerke

Wie fast alle mittelalterlichen Handschriften tragen auch die von Himmerod bestimmte Bezeichnungen, die ihre Zugehörigkeit zur Klosterbibliothek festlegen. Der früheste Besitzvermerk in der 1154 vollendeten Augustinushandschrift lautet: Liber beate Marie de Claustro.[1] Diese Bezeichnung wird im 13. Jahrhundert infolge der Umbenennung der Abtei [2] erweitert in: Liber beate Marie virginis in Claustro, Theutonice Hemmenrodensis, Cisterciensis ordinis, Dyocesis treuerensis,[3] wobei schliesslich der alte, von St. Bernhard selbst geprägte Klostername "Claustrum" [4] nahezu gänzlich verschwindet und die neue Benennung "Himmerod" an seine Stelle tritt. Seit dem 14. Jahrhundert lauten die meisten Besitzeinträge mit geringen Ausnahmen: Liber monachorum sancte Marie in Himmerode, ordinis Cisterciensis, Treuerensis diocesis. Sie befinden sich in schwarzer Tinte auf dem ersten Blatt, auch vielfach innerhalb der Handschriften. Die sonst gebräuchlichen Anathemformeln fehlen in den Himmeroder Codices.

Signaturen

Die Erforschung der Signaturen in den Handschriften gibt wichtige Einblicke in die Verwaltung der Bibliothek. Die

[1] Anhang, Hs. Nr. 4, fol. 202v.
[2] Vgl. Wilkes, a.a.O., S. 23 ff.
[3] Anhang, Hs. Nr. 51, fol. 188r.
[4] Vgl. Wilkes, a.a.O., S. 24.

Signaturen bestanden gewöhnlich aus einem Buchstaben und einer Zahl, wobei der Buchstabe das Pult oder den Schrank bezeichnete, in dem sich das betreffende Werk befand.[1] Die frühesten Spuren einer Katalogisierung sind in Himmerod erst seit dem 14. Jahrhundert nachweisbar. Damals signierte man die Handschriften mit einem grossen lateinischen Buchstaben und einer fortlaufenden römischen Zahl, und zwar fast durchweg am oberen Rand des ersten Blattes.[2] Diese erste Katalogisierung unterscheidet sich deutlich von der in der humanistischen Zeit durchgeführten Neuordnung der Bibliothek. Während man früher in kleiner, zierlicher Schrift signierte, verwendet man jetzt grosse, mit kräftiger schwarzer Tinte gezeichnete Buchstaben und Zahlen in Fraktur am unteren Rande der ersten Seite.

Eingehende Untersuchungen der 72 signierten Himmeroder Handschriften führten zu folgenden Ergebnissen : Die schon im 14. Jahrhundert durchgeführte Signierung wird bei der Neuordnung der Bibliothek im späten 15. Jahrhundert grösstenteils beibehalten. Die Schriften mit Verfasserangabe sind mit dem Anfangsbuchstaben des Autors, bei nichtgenannten Verfassern mit dem des Titels versehen. Neuerwerbungen wurden nach dem Zugang angereiht. Auch Inkunabeln[3] fanden unter den Handschriften Aufstellung und erhielten ihre Standortsnummer nach den gleichen Gesichtspunkten.[4]

Die Einbände

Zum Einbinden der Handschriften benutzten die Cistercienser den Holzdeckel, die eigentliche Einbandsart des Mittelalters.[5] Kostbare, mit Stoff oder Goldschmiedearbeiten geschmückte Büchereinbände, wie sie sonst zur Ausstattung der liturgischen

[1] Vgl. Harry Bresslau, " Bamberger Studien ", in : *Neues Archiv d. Gesellschaft f. ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, XXI (1896), S. 175 ff. ; dgl. Fritz Milkau, *Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft*, II (Leipzig, 1933), S. 319-28.

[2] Z. B. Anhang, Hs. Nr. 24, 31, 38.

[3] Die Stadtbibliothek Trier besitzt aus den alten Himmeroder Beständen ungefähr 200 Inkunabeln ; beschrieben bei : Ernst Vouillième, *Die Inkunabeln der öffentlichen Bibliothek und der kleinen Büchersammlungen der Stadt Trier* (xxxviii *Beiheft zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*), Leipzig, 1910.

[4] So sind z.B. *Thomas de Aquino, Summa theologiae pars I* (Venedig, ohne Jahr) mit T XVIII und *Bonaventura, Sermones* (Reutlingen, 1485) mit S. XCVI signiert.

[5] Milkau, a.a.O., I (Leipzig, 1931), S. 295.

Bücher beliebt waren, hatte das Generalkapitel ausdrücklich verboten.[1] Deshalb müssten uns die Prachteinbände der beiden Himmeroder Handschriften 4 und 5, in deren Mitte sogar Grubenschmelzplatten eingelassen sind, überraschen, wenn wir nicht wüssten, dass eine Täuschung vorliegt. Diese Handschriften kamen um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts in den Besitz des Londoner Kunsthändlers Thomas Boone. Der geschäftstüchtige Antiquar suchte ihren Wert zu steigern, indem er die Handschriften in die erwähnten Metalldeckel fassen liess. Die gleiche Praxis verfolgte der Pariser Kunsthändler Leon Gruel; er versah die Vorderdeckel der Handschriften 27 und 32 mit kleinen Emailkreuzen.

Erst im 16. Jahrhundert kann man mit Sicherheit auf das Vorhandensein einer Klosterbuchbinderei in Himmerod schliessen. Damals tauchen Bucheinbände auf, die mit Rollstempeln verziert sind. Dieser Gruppe gehören 3 Handschriften[2] und 2 Inkunabeln an.[3] Die Buchdeckel bestehen aus Holz und sind mit Schweinsleder überzogen. Die Zahl der Stempel wechselt je nach dem Format der betreffenden Bände. So zeigen die Handschriften neben Ornamentenstempeln solche mit den Figuren von Judith und Eva und den Allegorien der Prudentia und Justitia, sowie der Jahreszahl 1584. Die Wiegendrucke haben wegen ihres grösseren Formates einen weiteren Stempel mit 4 Männerköpfen.

Insbesondere legte Abt Robert Bootz aus Grosslittgen (1685-1730) Wert auf schöne, möglichst gleichmässige Einbände. Zeugnis von der Buchbinderei unter seiner Regierung geben nicht nur mehrere Handschriften,[4] sondern auch zahlreiche Drucke.[5] Auf der Vorderseite der mit naturfarbenem Schweinsleder überzogenen und mit Pflanzenornamenten geschmückten

[1] Statuten 1134/1152: "De firmaculis librorum. Interdicimus ne in ecclesiarum nostrarum libris aurea, vel argentea sive deargentata vel deaurata habeantur retinacula, quae usu firmacula vocantur, et ne aliquis codex pallio tegatur" (Canivez, *loc. cit.*, I, p. 16, Nr. XIII).

[2] Vgl. Anhang, Hs. Nr. 15, 20, 94.

[3] Stadtbibliothek Trier, Inkunabel, 562, 576.

[4] Vgl. Anhang, Hs. Nr. 6, 38, 48, 136.

[5] Z.B. das 30 bändige Werk "Bibliotheca maxima Patrum" von Bigne (Bibliothek der Abtei Himmerod).

Holzdeckel ist das vergoldete Wappen des Abtes (ein fruchttragender Eichelzweig) mit der Umschrift F.R.A.H. (Frater Robertus Abbas Himmerodensis) eingepresst. Die Rückseite trägt das Konventswappen, zwei verschlungene Ringe mit der Überschrift C.H. (Conventus Himmerodensis).

Die meisten Handschriften erhielten im 18. Jahrhundert einen neuen Einband. Ihre Pappdeckel sind mit braungefärbtem Kalbleder, weissem Ziegen-oder Schafleder überzogen und zeigen nur ganz vereinzelt Stempelpressungen. Bei dieser Gelegenheit band man verschiedene kleinere Handschriften zusammen, welche die Maurinermönche in Jahre 1718 noch als Einzelnummern durchgesehen hatten.[1] Der Schnitt dieser Bände ist teilweise rot gefärbt. Leider hat ein Grossteil von ihnen durch Beschneidung stark gelitten. Ziemlich alle Handschriften tragen auf dem Rücken den mit goldenen Buchstaben eingepressten Titel. Noch heute ist ein Teil der Bände mit Metallschliessen und mit Eckbeschlägen zum Schutze des Einbandes versehen.

Der Buchschmuck

Was die künstlerische Ausschmückung der Handschriften angeht, hielt sich Himmerod im grossen und ganzen an die vom Orden geforderte, für ihn so charakteristische Einfachheit. Zwar sind die frühen Cistercienserhandschriften, vor allem die von Cîteaux, reich ausgestattet und gleichen hierin den Werken der übrigen Schreibschulen.[2] Aber schon bald begann unter dem Einfluss des reformeifrigen hl. Bernhard v. Clairvaux eine strengere Richtung sich anzubahnen. Sie fand ihren Niederschlag in jenem entscheidenden Statut des Generalkapitels, das zwischen 1134 und 1152 anzusetzen ist.[3] Darin wird fortan jede

[1] Z.B. das Itinerarium von Mandeville, die Traktate von Enea Silvio (heute in Hs. 91); das gleiche ist auch für Hs. 3 anzunehmen.

[2] Vgl. Oursel, *loc. cit.*; Albert Boeckler, "Die Buchmalerei", in: *Milkau*, a.a.O., I, S. 202 ff.

[3] Jos. Turk, "Cistercii Statuta antiquissima", in: *Analecta S.O. Cist.*, IV, p. 14 s. Über die puritanische Kunstauffassung St. Bernhards cf. E. Vacandard, *Leben des hl. Bernard von Clairvaux* (Mainz, 1897), S. 176-85; Cooke, *loc. cit.* pp. 22-3.

Verwendung von mehrfarbigen Initialen verboten.[1] Diese Strenge lockerte sich schon bald wieder. Eigenartigerweise waren es gerade die Primarabteien Cîteaux, Clairvaux und Pontigny, die den Künstlermönchen in der Ausgestaltung der Codices weitgehende Freiheiten zugestanden.[2]

Die bemerkenswerte Umstellung findet auch in Himmeroder Handschriften einen Ausdruck. In der frühesten datierten Handschrift, dem 1154 vollendeten Predigtwerk des hl. Augustinus über das Johannesevangelium,[3] merkt man schon nichts mehr von einer Beobachtung der strengen Generalkapitelsverordnung. Wir finden eine Fülle von ein–bis dreifarbigen Initialen mit reichem Rankenwerk, Menschen–und Drachendarstellungen. Den beiden Schreibermönchen Albert und Meiner schwebten vielleicht die ähnlich ausgestatteten Handschriften des Stammklosters Cîteaux vor Augen. Diesem künstlerisch wertvollsten Codex aus der Frühzeit Himmerods kommen ein Missale mit Kanonbild und mehreren Schmuckinitialen[4] sowie eine Handschrift mit Abhandlungen des hl. Bernhard v. Clairvaux[5] am nächsten. Die übrigen Erzeugnisse des Himmeroder Skriptoriums sind im 12. Jahrhundert weniger bedeutend. Alle zeigen indes das Bestreben nach einfacher, aber sorgfältiger Initialzeichnung. Als Farben werden abwechselnd Rot, Grün und Blau verwendet.—Unter den Handschriften des 13. Jahrhunderts fallen zwei Antiphonarien[6] auf. Ob allerdings ihre farbenprächtigen, teilweise auf byzantinische Vorlagen zurückgehenden Bildinitialen in Himmerod entstanden sind, sei dahingestellt, weil sämtliche Besitz- und Schreibervermerke fehlen. Weit einfacher ist das "Speculum Virginum" des Hirsauer Mönches Konrad.[7] Seine 11 Miniaturen sind einer Handschrift des Mutterklosters Clairvaux nachgebildet, reichen

[1] "Littere unius coloris fiant et non depicte', (*ibid.* p. 27, Nr. XLIII; Canivez, *loc. cit.*, I, p. 31, Nr. LXXX).

[2] Vgl. Aubert, *loc. cit.*, II, p. 46. Bei Lucien Morel-Payen, *Les plus beaux Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Troyes* (Troyes, 1935) wird dieser Wechsel durch Wiedergaben von Miniaturen und Initialen aus Clairvaux besonders deutlich; z.B. in Ms. 90 = Planche VIII, fig. 27; Ms. 123 = Planche XVI, fig. 64.

[3] S. Anhang, Hs. Nr. 4.

[4] Ebda Nr. 13.

[5] Ebda Nr. 11.

[6] Ebda Nr. 25, 26.

[7] Ebda Nr. 27.

aber in der Art der Ausführung entfernt nicht an diese heran. Von den jüngeren Handschriften beansprucht nur das Kanonbild in einem Missale [1] einiges Interesse.

Die Buchschrift ist gleichmässig und gut leserlich. Die zunächst noch vorherrschende karolingische Minuskel wird im Laufe des 13. Jahrhunderts allmählich mit gotischen Formen durchsetzt und schliesslich durch die gotische Schrift abgelöst. Die Bände sind grösstenteils zweispaltig auf Linienschema geschrieben und zeigen den Charakter der Cistercienserhandschriften, der " in Sauberkeit, Leserlichkeit und einheitlicher Buchausstattung besteht ".[2]

Letzte Schicksale der Abtei

Himmerod teilte das Schicksal der linksrheinischen Klosterbibliotheken. Mit dem Einbruch der französischen Revolutionsheere in das Erzstift Trier (Juli 1794) [3] begann die letzte und folgenschwerste Zerstreuung seiner Bücherschätze. Im August floh der Konvent [4] unter Mitnahme fast sämtlicher Handschriften und Wertgegenstände ins Rechtsrheinische.[5] Nahezu ein Jahr dauerte das Exil. Erst nachdem die französische Départementsverwaltung alle kirchlichen Korporationen in den Besitz ihrer früheren Güter und Einkünfte wiedereingesetzt hatte,[6] kehrte man mit ausdrücklicher Erlaubnis des Réprésentant du Peuple Meynard, am 5. Juli 1795 in die Abtei zurück.[7] Die Handschriften liessen die Mönche wegen der unsicheren Lage auf der rechten Rheinseite. Der Ort blieb bis heute unbekannt. Das Verbot der Aufnahme neuer Mitglieder und wirtschaftliche

[1] Ebda Nr. 105.

[2] Ernst Crous-Joachim Kirchner, *Die gotischen Schriftarten* (Leipzig, 1928), S. 12.

[3] J. Marx, *Geschichte des Erzstifts Trier*, V (Trier, 1864), S. 288 ff.

[4] Er zählte 27 Priestermönche und 1 Laienbruder; von ihnen blieben 4 Patres auf verschiedenen Seelsorgsstellen und der Cellerar P. David Cochems in der Abtei zurück.

[5] Vielleicht nach Heisterbach, der Tochtergründung Himmerods. Ein Konventuale, P. Herman Neuerburg aus Wittlich, starb am 8. März 1795 in Waldbreitbach.

[6] Vgl. Marx a.a.O., S. 321 f.

[7] St. A. Kobl., Abt. 276, Nr. III, C 50, Schreiben v. 4. Prair. an 6.

Repressalien liessen das baldige Ende der Abtei vorausahnen.[1] Durch Beschluss der französischen Konsularregierung vom 20. Prairial an X (9. Juni 1802) wurden alle geistlichen Stiftungen in den 4 linksrheinischen Départements aufgehoben und zum Nationaleigentum erklärt. Am 26. Juli 1802 verliess der Konvent die alte Kulturstätte.

Kurz vor der Aufhebung hatte der Präfekt des Saardépartements am 15. Mai 1802 " im Interesse der Erhaltung der Klosterbibliotheken für die Wissenschaft " deren Aufnahme und Versieglung angeordnet.[2] Diese wurde in Himmerod von dem Vertreter des Subpräfekten von Prüm vorgenommen. P. Anselm Steinen, der letzte Bibliothekar, stellte nach Sachgebieten ein Verzeichnis auf.[3] Danach enthielt die Bibliothek 1574 Drucke und einige wenige Handschriften.

Am 1. März 1803 verfügte der Präfekt, die Klosterbibliotheken, soweit noch nicht veräussert, nach Trier zu verbringen. Hier sollte der Trierer Bibliothekar Wyttenbach die besten Werke für die öffentliche Bibliothek auswählen und den Rest zur Deckung der Transportkosten versteigern lassen.[4] Ehe dieser Befehl ausgeführt wurde, erschien Jean-Baptiste Maugérard, ehemaliger Maurinermönch, wegen seiner hervorragenden Kenntnisse auf dem Gebiete der Handschriftenkunde 1802 zum " Commissaire du gouvernement pour la recherche des sciences et arts dans les quatre départements du Rhin " ernannt.[5] Im Auftrage der französischen Regierung durchsuchte er die linksrheinischen Klosterbibliotheken nach Manuskripten und seltenen Inkunabeln, um sie an die Nationalbibliothek in Paris weiterzuleiten. Auf seiner " Aktion " entnahm er in Himmerod 25, in Klausen 50 und in Springiersbach 13 Bände; davon trat er 6 an den Trierer Stadtbibliothekar Wyttenbach ab.[6] Das von

[1] Vgl. B. Steinmetz, " Anselmus von Pidoll 1782-1802, Abt von Himmerod ", in: *Cist. Chr.*, 50 (1938), S. 301.

[2] Vouillème, a.a.O.S., XIV.

[3] St. A Kobl. a.a.O. Inventaire du 9. Prairial an X (28. Mai 1802).

[4] Vouillième, a.a.O.

[5] Vgl. L. Traube und Rud. Ehwald, *Jean-Baptiste Maugérard. Ein Beitrag zur Bibliotheksgeschichte* (*Abhandlungen d. hist. Klasse d. kgl. Akademie d. Wiss.*, XXIII. Bd., II. Abt., München, 1906).

[6] Dazu gehören vielleicht die im Katalog verzeichneten Nummern 47, 96, 102, 119, 122, die i. J. 1803 in die öffentliche Bibliothek gelangten.

Maugérard darüber eigenhändig ausgefertigte Verzeichnis vom 1. Mai 1803 [1] führt 4 Himmeroder Handschriften [2] auf, die—mit zahlreichen anderen rheinischen Handschriften und Frühdrucken [3]—nach Paris und nach dem 2. Pariser Frieden (1815) an den preussischen Staat gelangten. Die übrigen Bestände der Himmeroder Bibliothek kamen nach Trier, wo Wyttenbach die wertvollsten, darunter etwa 200 Inkunabeln, für die öffentliche Bibliothek auswählte; der Rest wanderte durch Versteigerung in Privatbesitz oder wurde sinnlos vernichtet.

Wenige Handschriften blieben nach der Aufhebung im Besitze des Abtes und einiger Patres. So nahm z.B. Abt Anselm v. Pidoll (1782-1827) das dreibändige Chartular [4] und eine Kopie der Abtsgeschichte seines Vorgängers Robert Bootz [5] nach Trier mit; P. Ferdinand Oberkontz (+ 1813) vermacht der Pfarrbibliothek Pommern a.d. Mosel die Himmeroder Wundererzählungen,[6] P. Anselm Steinen (+ 1835) schenkt i. J. 1824 Bischof Hommes von Trier den Autograph der Bootzschen Abtsgeschichte [7] und P. Johannes Schlemmer (+ 1851) der Trierer Dombibliothek ein altes Hausrituale.[8]

Der Hauptbestand der rechtsrheinisch ausgelagerten Handschriften von Himmerod gelangte in die Hände eines unbekannten Zwischenbesitzers, der wahrscheinlich auch die vielen Rasuren und Tilgungen der Besitzvermerke vornahm, um die Bücher dem staatlichen Zugriff zu entziehen.[9] Von ihm erwarb Joseph Görres etwa 100 Handschriften. Man bezeichnet sie mit den einige Jahre vorher von Görres angekauften Beständen aus der nach Ehrenbreitstein geflüchteten Bibliothek von St. Maximin bei Trier als "Görreshandschriften". Bevor Görres im Oktober 1819 Koblenz verliess, brachte er seine Handschriftensammlung im dortigen Stadthospital unter. Aus ihr liess er sich im Jahre 1844 95 Bände nach München schicken. Der in-

[1] St. A. Kobl., a.a.O., Nr. 2810.
[2] Vgl. Anhang, Hs. Nr. 82, 92, 104, 133.
[3] Vgl. Vouillième, a.a.O., S. XV; Traube-Ehwald, a.a.O., S. 317, 331.
[4] Anhang, Hs. Nr. 69-71. [5] Ebda Nr. 135.
[6] Ebda Nr. 123. [7] Ebda Nr. 134. [8] Ebda Nr. 132.
[9] Vgl. Emil Jakobs, "Die Handschriftensammlung Görres', ihre Entstehung und ihr Verbleib", in: *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 23 (1906), S. 196; Schillmann, Einleitung.

zwischen auf 87 Handschriften zusammengeschmolzene Bestand wurde im Frühjahr 1902 von den Erben Görres' in München öffentlich versteigert und kam überwiegend in den Besitz der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, einige in ausländische Büchereien oder in Privathände.[1]

Die in Koblenz verbliebenen "Görreshandschriften" wurden im Jahre 1911 mit Genehmigung des Ministeriums nach Berlin gebracht, die für die Lokalgeschichte bedeutsamen Werke kamen teils in die Stadtbibliothek Trier, teils in das Staatsarchiv Koblenz.[2] Von dem ehemals so reichen Handschriftenbestand Himmerods sind bis heute nur 137 Nummern nachweisbar. Sie befanden sich vor dem 2. Weltkrieg zum grössten Teil (92 Bände) in der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. Zur Zeit sind sie noch in der Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen (43 Bände) und in der Westdeutschen Bibliothek zu Marburg (47 Bände) ausgelagert; zwei Handschriften gingen während des Krieges verloren.[3] Versprengte Stücke sind in Trier, Bonn, Koblenz, Schloss Hohenaschau (Oberbayern), Wien, Paris, Chantilly, Amiens, Brüssel, Leyden, London, Manchester und Baltimore.[4]

ANHANG

Katalog der nachweisbaren Himmeroder Handschriften

1. S. Basilius Magnus, Admonitiones ad filium spiritualem (Fragmentum). Fulbertus episcopus, Sermo in Nativitate S. Mariae. De Evangelio Matthaei XIX, 27 e diversis auctoribus. S. Athanasius, Sermo de conservatione corporis et sanguinis Domini. Fragmentum officii S. Desiderii.
   Einband: Weisser Pergamentband über Pappdeckel mit Handvergoldung sowie Jahreszahl Wien 1752. In der Mitte der beiden Deckel der goldene Doppeladler mit dem Lindenschild auf der Brust in ovalem Lorbeerkranz. Auf dem Vorderdeckel in Goldlettern oben: E.A.B.C.V. (Ex Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi), unten: 17. G.L.B.V.S.B. 52. (Gerardus Liber Baro van Swieten Bibliothecarius 1752).
   Perg. 5 Bll. (265 × 180 mm.) XI. Jh. 3 einfache Initialen.
   Besitzvermerke: fol. 1^r, *Liber monachorum sancte marie in hymmerode treueren. dyoc. cistercien. ordin.* (14. Jh.). Die Handschrift war schon i. J.

[1] Jakobs, a.a.O., S. 202 ff. [2] Schillmann, a.a.O.
[3] Vgl. Anhang Hs. Nr. 2, 12.
[4] Der Verfasser ist dankbar für jeden Hinweis über den Verbleib von ehemaligen Himmeroder Handschriften. Zuschriften erbeten an P. Ambrosius Schneider, Abtei Himmerod über Wittlich/Rhld.

1576 Eigentum der Hofbibliothek Wien; sie trägt auf fol. 1^r und 5^v die Signaturen N 4164, auf fol. 1^r ausserdem Theol. Lat. MS. 206.
Wien Cod. 1011.
Denis I, Nr. 749. *Tabulae codicum* I, S. 175 f. Julius Hermann, *Die deutschen romanischen Handschriften* (*Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich,* II (Leipzig, 1926)), S. 20 f.

2. Evangelia dominicalia et festivalia per annum.
Jüngerer Pappband mit weissem Schafleder überzogen (18. Jh.).
Perg. 140 Bll. (220 × 150 mm.) XI. Jh. 9 primitive Miniaturen nach byzantinischen Vorlagen, mehrere grössere Schmuckinitialen, einfache rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerk: fol. 136^v (vgl. Nr. 4).
Alte Signatur: E XXIII (fol. 6^r).
Berlin Lat. qu. 100 (G 119).
Schillmann 161^b-162^a.
Die Handschrift ging während des 2. Weltkrieges infolge Auslagerung verloren.

3. Sermones dominicales. Excerpta ex grammaticis et theologis. Sermones. Haimo, Super Cantica Canticorum.
Jüngerer Pappband mit weissem Schafleder überzogen (18 Jh.).
Perg. 86 Bll. (195 × 127 mm.) XI./XIII. Jh. Rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerk: fol. 73^r, *liber noue curie* (14. Jh.); der Himmeroder Grangie Neuhofen im Bistum Speyer.
Alte Signaturen: fol. 1^r S. XXXII (15. Jh.), fol. 75^r C XXVIII (14. Jh.).
Die Handschrift setzt sich aus drei, ursprünglich getrennten Teilen zusammen. Der älteste Teil, Haimo, Super Cantica Canticorum, trägt auf fol. 75^r unten die eigene Signatur C XXVIII.
Tübingen Lat. qu. 699 (G 116).
Schillmann 154^b-160^b.

4. S. Augustini Sermones super Johannem evangelistam, Liber de caritate. Rufinus, Expositio in Symbolum, Dicta de fide catholica.
Holzeinband mit Stoff überzogen. Auf dem Vorderdeckel ist eine Grubenschmelzplatte (spätes 12. Jh.) befestigt; der Rückdeckel ist unverziert. An den 4 Ecken der Platte sind die aus Kupfer getriebenen Symbole der vier Evangelisten angebracht (14./15. Jh.). Der Untergrund der Emailplatte ist blau mit grünen und goldenen Verzierungen. Auf dem Email ist Christus am Kreuz dargestellt, zu seinen Füssen stehen Maria und Johannes. Über dem Haupte des Kruzifixus die Hand des Vaters und 2 Engel zu beiden Seiten.
Perg. 207 Bll. (358 × 250 mm.) 1154. 3 figürliche und 3 Schmuckinitialen; zahlreiche Rankeninitialen in roter, blauer u. grüner Farbe.
Besitzvermerke: fol. 120^r, *Liber monachorum S. Marie in Himmerode ordinis Cisterciensis Treuerensis diocesis* (14. Jh.); fol. 202^v, *Anno dominice incarnationis M° C° L° IIII°. anno XXIII° ordinationis Randulfi abbatis. perscriptus est liber iste beate Marie de claustro ab Alberto scriptore, ·cooperante Menero cantore;* fol. 240^v, *Liber monachorum s . . .* (Rest getilgt) wie auf fol. 120^r.

Alte Signatur: *A VI* (fol. 1^r).
Chantilly, Musée Condé MS. 607.
Chantilly. Le cabinet des Livres. Manuscrits, Tome I (Paris, 1900), p. 111s, Nr. 121.
Das Musée Condé erwarb diese Handschrift im Dezember 1860 von dem Londoner Antiquar Boone.

5. Petrus Lombardus, Super Psalmos.
Holzeinband. Vorderseite: vergoldete Metallplatte (anscheinend 13. Jh.), gegliedert in Mittelfeld mit Krucifixus, Schräge und Randleiste. Die einzelnen Teile sind mit kleinen Nägeln auf der Unterlage befestigt.
Mittelfeld: Der Grund ist ein Goldblech mit eingravierten Rankenmotiven. Darauf ist in der Mitte ein Kreuz befestigt; in den vier Ecken je ein grosses Medaillon in feiner Zellenschmelzarbeit. Neben den Enden der Kreuzarme befinden sich je 2 Edelsteine in einfachen Kastenfassungen. Kleinere Edelsteine sind ferner zu beiden Seiten des unteren Kreuzarmes angebracht, zwei rechts und einer links. Das Kreuz selbst ist ganz flach und in der Mitte scheibenartig erweitert. Kreuznimbus, Schrifttafel mit J H S und Suppedaneum sind in die Fläche einbezogen, ebenso am Ende des oberen Kreuzarmes die Hand des Vaters und am unteren Ende eine betende Figur. Der Krucifixus bleibt im Relief. Die Falten des geknoteten Lendentuches sind winkelig und geschichtet. Der leicht geneigte Kopf des Gekreuzigten hat langes Haar und trägt eine Krone. Die Arme bleiben in Schulterhöhe. Die Kniee sind scharf abgeknickt, die Füsse nebeneinandergestellt. Schräge: ohne Schmuck.
Randleiste: Die Randleiste ist abwechselnd mit rechteckigen Goldzellenschmelzplättchen, mit Filigranranken und je 4 Edelsteinen verziert. Jedes Plättchen hat einen schmalen Granulatrahmen. Der Rückdeckel ist aus Holz, mit grün-braunem Samt bezogen.
Perg. 197 Bll. (355 × 240 mm.) XII. Jh. 2 Hände. 8 Schmuckinitialen. Auf fol. 197^v eine ziemlich primitive Federzeichnung eines Seraphim.
Besitzvermerke: fol. 104^v wie in Nr. 4; fol. 132^r, *Liber iste monachorum in hoi* (himmenrodii sc. monasterio), Rest weggeschnitten. Auf fol. 1^r ein ausgetilgter Eintrag, von dem nur lesbar ist *Liber . . . ho . . . de ord. Cistercien.*; ein ähnlicher Vermerk auf fol. 197^r.
Alte Signatur: *P J* (fol. 1^r).
Manchester, The John Rylands Library Latin MS. 6.
M. R. James, *A descriptive Catalogue of the Latin Manuscripts in The John Rylands Library*, I (Manchester, 1921), p. 12 ff.
Der Earl of Crawford erstand die Handschrift im Oktober 1861 von dem Londoner Antiquar Boone; 1901 von Manchester erworben (Mitteilung von H. Bibliothekar E. Robertson, Manchester).

6. Evangelium secundum Lucam cum glossis.
Holzeinband mit weissem Schweinsleder bezogen, 2 Metallschliessen.
Auf den beiden Deckeln die Wappen von Abt Robert Bootz und Konvent (vgl. Nr. 48).
Perg. 132 Bll. (225 × 163 mm.) XII. Jh. 2 Schmuckinitialen.
Besitzvermerke: fol. 1^r und 18^r wie in Nr. 4.

Alte Signatur: fol. 1^r am oberen Rande in dünner Schrift *L III* (14. Jh.); der gleiche Eintrag am unteren Rande in dicker schwarzer Tinte (Ende 15. Jh.).
Manchester, The John Rylands Library, Latin MS. 13.
James (Titel wie in Nr. 5) I, p. 37 f.
Gleiche Erwerbungsart wie Nr. 5.

7. Hugo de S. Victore, Commentarius in hierarchiam coelestem S. Dionysii Areopagitae. Pseudo-Hieronymus, De essentia, invisibilitate atque immensitate Dei et figurata locutione scripturarum.
Neuband der Königlichen Bibliothek Berlin.
Perg. 127 Bll. (287 × 210 mm.) XII. Jh. Rote und grüne Initialen mit einfacher Rankenverzierung.
Besitzvermerke: fol. 123^v, in Majuskelschrift, *Liber Sancte Marie De Claustro* (12. Jh.), fol. 96^v wie in Nr. 4.
Alte Signatur: *H XV* (fol. 1^r).
Marburg Lat. qu. 688. (G 83).
Schillmann 75^b-76^b.

8. Isidorus Hispalensis, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum.
Pappband mit Ziegenleder bezogen (18. Jh.).
Perg. 132 Bll. (195 × 126 mm.) XII. Jh. Rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerke auf fol. 2^r und 132^r herausgeschnitten; auf fol. 2^r noch lesbar *Lib. . . . or . . .*
Marburg Lat. oct. 227 (G 68).
Schillmann 67^a.

9. Seneca, Epistolae ad Lucilium (89-124). Martinus de Braga, De IIII virtutibus.
Einband in weissem Schweinsleder von J. B. Gentilotti, Bibliothekar der Hofbibliothek Wien, aus dem Jahre 1720.
Perg. 56 Bll. (250 × 160 mm.) XII. Jh. Einfache rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerke: fol. 56^r wie in Nr. 4; fol. 56^v alte Signatur der Hofbibliothek (Ende 16. Jh.).
Wien, Codex 123.
Tabulae codicum, I, S. 18.

10. Beda Venerabilis, Homiliae.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), 2 Metallschliessen.
Perg. 135 Bll. (262 × 190 mm.) XII. Jh.[2] Rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerke: fol. 88^r wie in Nr. 4; fol. 135^v, *Liber monachorum sancte Marie* (15. Jh.).
Alte Signatur: *B XIX* (fol. 1^r).
Marburg Lat. qu. 677 (G 33).
Schillmann 26^b-30^a.

11. S. Bernardus Claraevallensis, Tractatus varii.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.).
Perg. 171 Bll. (325 × 210 mm.) XII. Jh.[2] Einfache rote und grüne Rankeninitialen, 1 Schmuckinitiale.
Besitzvermerke: fol. 100^v und 109^v, *Liber monachorum S. marie in hymme-*

rode Treuerensis diocesis Cisterciensis ordinis (von 2 verschiedenen Händen des 14. Jh.).
Tübingen Lat. fol. 752 (G 71).
Schillmann 68ª-71ᵇ.

12. Ivo Carnotensis episcopi, Pannormia.
Neuband der Königlichen Bibliothek Berlin.
Perg. 159 Bll. (170 × 110 mm.) XII. Jh.² Einfarbig rote, verzierte Initialen.
Besitzvermerk: fol. 88, *Liber Ecclesie de claustro dicto Himmenrode Treuerensis diocesis.*
Berlin Lat. qu. 282.
Val. Rose, *Verzeichnis der lateinischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin II* (Berlin 1903) Nr. 614, S. 557ᵇ-558ª.
Die Handschrift wurde am 4. November 1854 von Prof. Boecking in Bonn, wahrscheinlich gegen Buchdubletten der Königl. Bibliothek Berlin eingetauscht; sie ging während des 2 Weltkrieges infolge Auslagerung verloren.

13. Missale Cisterciense.
Alter Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (16. Jh.); eingepresst sind Vierecke mit Greifen, Löwen, hl. Laurentius, Rundstempel mit Wappen der Stadt Köln und Rosetten. Rücken aus weissem Lammfell mit Aufdruck "Missale".
Perg. 146 Bll. (295 × 215 mm.) XII. Jh.² 1 ganzseitige Miniatur (Kanonbild, fol. 79ʳ), mehrere Schmuckinitialen, einfache rote und grüne Initialen.
Tübingen Lat. fol. 765 (G 121).
Schillmann 165ᵇ-166ª.

14. S. Augustinus, Enarrationes in psalmos CI-CXVIII.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.).
Perg. 200 Bll. (290 × 205 mm.) XII. Jh.² Rote, blaue und grüne Initialen mit einfachen Verzierungen.
Besitzvermerk: fol. 120ʳ, *Liber monachorum S. Marie in Himmerode ordinis Cisterciensis Treuerensis diocesis* (14. Jh.).
Alte Signatur: *A VIII* (fol. 1ʳ).
Tübingen Lat. fol. 732 (G 24).
Schillmann 18.

15. Vitae Sanctorum (Ambrosii, Fulgentii, Hilarii, Benedicti et Scholasticae Aegidii, Goaris, Columbani, Hilarionis, Antonii monachi, Apri, Sermo Echeberti de S. Willibrordo et vita eiusdem). Liber Passionalis intitulatus de Sanctorum gestis et martiriis (Anastasiae, Eugeniae, Proti et Iacinti, Martinae, Columbae, Mariae Aegyptiacae, Agathae, Julianae, Perpetuae et Felicitatis, Petronellae, Epistola Victorini et Marini ad Marcellum papam, Domitillae, Symphoriae et filiorum, Sophiae, Felicitatis cum septem filiis, Marinae, Praxedis, Mariae Magdalenae, Christinae).
Pergamenteinband mit aufgepressten Ornamenten am Rande; in der mittleren Zone abwechselnd Darstellungen von Judith, Eva und den Allegorien der Iustitia und Prudentia mit der Jahreszahl 1584.
Perg. 213 Bll. (280 × 195 mm.) XII. Jh.² Rote, blaue und grüne Initialen.

Besitzvermerk: fol. 116^v wie in Nr. 4.
Paris, Nouv. acq. latins 1836 (G 63).
Henri Omont, *Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouvelles acquisitions du département des manuscrits pendant les années* 1900-1902 (Paris, 1903), p. 27; derselbe in: *Notices et extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres Bibliothèques*, tome 38 (1903), pp. 363-6, 386-98. M. L. Traube im *Neuen Archiv für ältere deutsche Geschichtsforschung*, 27 (1902), S. 737 ff.; ebda 29 (1903), S. 259. W. Levison, *Eine neue Vita Willibrordi*, ebda 29 (1903), S. 255 ff.
1902 in München gekauft.

16. Dialogus de verbis B. Pauli ad Galatas (VI, 14). Tractatus de etymologia vocum provincia, patria, regio, territorium. Urkundenfragment (12. Jh.).
Perg. 5 Bll. (210 × 140 mm.) XII./XIII. Jh.
Besitzvermerke: fol. 1^r, *Liber monachorum in Hymmerode ord. cist. treueren. dyoc.* (15. Jh.), fol. 4^v wie in Nr. 4.
Alte Signatur: *S XXV* (fol. 1^r).
Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek Cod. Vulc. 52 C.
Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis, Codices Manuscripti. I. *Codices Vulcaniani* (Leyden, 1910), p. 22s. Rud. Lehmann, "Holländische Reisefrüchte I-III", in: *Münchener Sitzungsberichte, phil.-philolog. u. hist. Klasse*, 1920, S. 13 ff.

17. Origines, De singularitate clericorum. S. Augustinus, Libri duo ad inquisitionem Januarii, Sententiae excerptae ex libris S. Augustini adversus Manicheos, Liber de decem chordis, Liber de disciplina christianorum. S. Elisabeth Schonaugienis, Revelationes. Magister Serlo, 27 versus. Scriptum S. Hildegardis (de Bingen) ad Elisabeth Schonaugiensis.
Pappband mit Ziegenleder bezogen (18. Jh.).
Perg. 95 Bll. (223 × 163 mm.) XII./XIII. Jh. Vereinzelte rote und grüne Initialen mit Rankenverzierungen.
Besitzvermerke: fol. 34^v, *Liber Monachorum Sanctae Mariae in Himmerode* . . . (17. Jh.), fol. 76^v wie in Nr. 4, fol. 92^v, *Liber sancte marie de Hymmenroid ord. cist. Tr. d.* (15. Jh.); zwei weitere Besitzvermerke mit ähnlichem Wortlaut auf fol. 95^v (15. Jh.).
Alte Signatur: *A XVI* (fol. 1^r).
Paris, Nouv. acq. latins 760 (G 30).
Henri Omont, *Bibliothèque Nationale* . . . (vgl. Nr. 15) p. 19s; derselbe, *Notices et extraits* . . . (ebda) pp. 1-95.
1902 in München gekauft.

18. Rupertus Tuitiensis, Super Cantica Canticorum, Hymnen. Richardus de S. Victore, Benjamin minor. Hugo de S. Victore, De arca Noe morali.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), Metallecken undschliessen.
Perg. 108 Bll. (300 × 226 mm.) XII./XIII. Jh. Grüne und rote Schmuckinitialen.
Besitzvermerke: fol. 49^r wie in Nr. 4, fol. 29^v, *Liber sancte Marie de Hymmenrode quod dicitur claustrum* (15. Jh.).

Tübingen Lat. fol. 737 (G 32).
Schillmann 24b-26b.

19. I. Vita beatae Elisabeth de Thuringia. Miracula domini Lodowici lantgravii. Epistolae de canonisatione dominae Elisabeth. Officium sanctae Elisabeth cum neumis. Miscellanea. II. Passionale (Passio SS. Martyrum Vincentii, Polycarpi, Juliani et Basilissae, Felicis, Pontiani, Blasii, Valentini, Quadraginta Martyrum, Georgii, Alexandri papae, Eventii et Theoduli presbyterorum, Quiriaci, Floriani, Gordiani et Epimachi, Pancratii, Nerei, Achillei et aliorum sanctorum, Marcellini et Petri, Erasmi, Primi et Feliciani, Barnabae apostoli, Basilidis, Trophidis et Mandalis, Nazarii et Celsi, Viti, Modesti et Crescentiae, Marcelliani et Marci, Gervasii et Protasii, Albani Moguntiaci, Albani protomartyris Angliae, Fusciani, Victorici et Gentiani, Johannis et Pauli, Processi et Martiani, Felicis et Mustiolae, Kyliani et sociorum eius, Prologus Johannis diaconi Neapolitani in vita S. Nicolai episcopi, Passio S. Eugenii Toletanae sedis episcopi et martiris, Vitae et actuum S. Mansueti primi Leuchorum urbis pontificis libellus I). Miscellanea. S. Julianus episcopus Toletanus, Liber pronosticon de futuro saeculo. S. Hieronymus, Fragmentum epistolae CVIII.
Einband wie Nr. 15, Metallschliessen und-ecken.
Perg. 203 Bll. (317 × 235 mm.) XII²/XIII. Jh. Die Teile vor dem Passionale (bis fol. 34r) stammen aus dem 13. Jh. und wurden anscheinend später beigebunden. Rote, blaue und grüne Initialen.
Besitzvermerke: fol. 33r, *Liber monachorum in Hymmenroide* (14. Jh.), fol. 35v wie in Nr. 4 mit Ausnahme von 'Hymmerode' statt 'Himmerode'.
London, B.M. MS. Add. 36737 (G. 57).
Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum, 1900-1905 (London, 1907), pp. 197-202.
1902 in München gekauft.

20. Absalonis, abbatis Sprinckirbacensis, Sermones.
Einband wie Nr. 15.
Perg. 117 Bll. (315 × 210 mm.) XIII. Jh. Rote und blaue Initialen mit Rankenverzierungen.
Besitzvermerke: fol. 60v wie Nr. 4; fol. 115r, *Liber fratrum . . . ordinis* . . . (Rest durch Rasur getilgt).
Alte Signatur: *A XXXII* (fol. 1r).
Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale MS. Latin 582.
Catalogue général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques de France. Départments, Tome XIX: *Amiens* par E. Coyecque (Paris, 1893), p. 343s.
Die Handschrift gelangte zwischen 1843 und 1893 auf unbekannte Weise nach Amiens (Mitteilung von H. Bibliothekar P. Logie, Amiens).

21. Allegoriae veteris et novi Testamenti. Johannes Damascenus, Liber gestorum Barlaam et Josaphat.
Holzeinband mit Leder bezogen (18. Jh.).
Perg. 102 Bll. (330 × 235 mm.) XIII. Jh. Rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerk: fol. 102v, . . . *himmerode ordinis Cisterciensis Treuerensis diocesis* (14. Jh.); der Anfang des Besitzvermerkes ist durch Chemikalien getilgt, der Rest nur schwer lesbar.

Alte Signatur: *A XXV* (fol. 1^r).
Tübingen Lat. fol. 730 (G 22).
Schillmann 16^b-17^b.

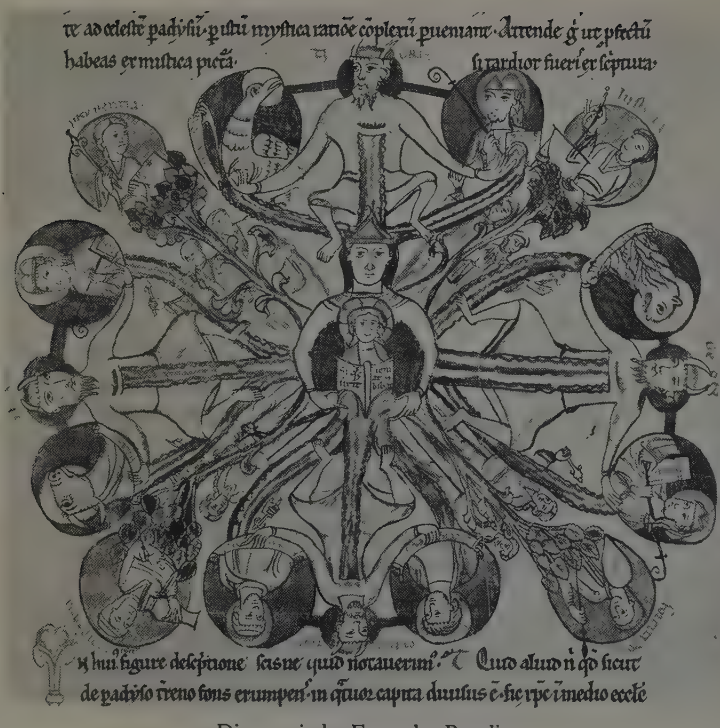
22. S. Ambrosius, De poenitentia adversus Novatianum. Paulinus de Aquileia, Proemium. Excerpta ex SS. Patribus. S. Hieronymus, Sermo de frugi et luxurioso fratribus. Vita S. Mauri abbatis. Sermo beati Leonis papae de sancto Pentecosten. Sermo S. Maximi episcopi de Sancto Spiritu. Sermo Eusebii, Caesariensis episcopi, de eadem solemnitate.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), Metallschliessen.
Perg. 162 Bll. (231 × 180 mm.) XIII. Jh.[1] Rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerke auf fol. 1 und 162 herausgeschnitten.
Alte Signatur: *A II* (fol. 1^r, 162^r).
Marburg Lat. qu. 668 (G 4).
Schillmann 4^b-6^a.

23. S. Ambrosius, Hexaemeron. Fretellus, Liber locorum sanctorum terrae Jerusalem.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), 2 Metallschliessen.
Perg. 160 Bll. (220 × 154 mm.) XIII. Jh. Rote und grüne Initialen.
Besitzvermerk: fol. 84^r wie in Nr. 4.
Alte Signatur: *A I* (fol. 1^r).
Marburg Lat. qu. 686 (G 65).
Schillmann 64.

24. S. Anselmus Cantuariensis, Cur Deus homo, De azymo et fermentato. Hugo de S. Victore, Liber in Ecclesiasten, Tractatus de opere trium dierum, Tractatus de meditatione, etc.
Holzeinband mit Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), 2 Metallschliessen.
Perg. 143 Bll. (305 × 226 mm.) XIII. Jh. 1 Schmuckinitiale, einfache rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerke: fol. 76^v wie in Nr. 4, fol. 113^r, *Liber Sancte Marie de Hemmenroth* (13. Jh.).
Alte Signaturen: fol. 1^{ro} *C. VII* (14. Jh.), fol. 1^{ru} *A XXI* (15. Jh.).
Tübingen Lat. fol. 736 (G 27).
Schillmann 20^b-22^b.

25. Antiphonarium Cisterciense.
Holzdeckel mit gepresstem Leder (Lederbezug zur Hälfte ab), 2 Metallecken und-schliessen.
Perg. 284 Bll. (232 × 327 mm.) XIII. Jh. 6 figürliche Initialen, 8 Schmuckinitialen in Deckfarbenmalerei (blau, grün, gelb, rot, gold); zahlreiche dreifarbige (rot, grün, blau), aber kleinere Schmuckinitialen, teilweise in getuschter Federzeichnung.
Trier Hs. Nr. 411/1725.
Keuffer 4. Heft, S. 36.
Geschenk von Peter Job Hermes an die Stadtbibliothek Trier (1827).

26. Antiphonarium Cisterciense.
Holzdeckel mit gepresstem Leder (Lederbezug zur Hälfte ab), 4 Metallecken, 2 Mittelschilder, Schliessen entfernt.



Die mystische Form des Paradieses.
Miniatur aus dem "Speculum Virginum" 13. Jh. (vgl. Hs. 27, f. 12).
(Veröffentlicht mit gütiger Erlaubnis der Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.)

Perg. 171 Bll. (215 × 305 mm.) XIII. Jh. 3 figürliche Initialen in ähnlicher Ausführung wie in Nr. 25, 32 Schmuckinitialen: grösstenteils Federzeichnungen in blauer, grüner, roter, schwarzer und gelber Farbe.
Trier Hs. Nr. 412/1737.
Keuffer 4. Heft, S. 36.
Herkunft wie Nr. 25.

27. Conradus monachus Hirsaugiensis, Dialogus Peregrini et Theodorae de Speculo Virginum. Hymni ad Virginem Mariam. Definitiones virtutum et vitiorum.
Holzdeckel mit modernem rotem Samt überzogen; auf der Vorderseite ein kleines Emailkreuz (13. Jh.). Einband und Kreuz stammen von dem Kunsthändler Leon Gruel, Paris.
Perg. 123 Bll. (310 × 230 mm.) XIII. Jh.[1] 11 mehrfarbige z. T. ganzseitige Miniaturen, kleine zweifarbige Initialen.
Besitzvermerk: fol. 1^r getilgt, nur schwach lesbar *Liber monachorum sancte marie in hymmenrode ordinis Cisterciensis Treuerensis dyocesis* (15. Jh.).
Alte Signatur: *C J* (fol. 1^r).
Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery MS. W 72 (G 76).
Seymour de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, vol. I (New York, 1935), p. 822, no. 393. Arthur Watson, "A Manuscript of the Speculum Virginum in The Walters Art Gallery", in: *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, vol. X (Baltimore, 1947), pp. 61-74.
Die Handschrift wurde 1902 von dem Kunstliebhaber Julien Chappée, Paris, in München erworben, ging aber nicht lange danach in den Besitz von Gruel (s.o.) über. Von ihm kaufte sie Mr. Walters am 9. Juni 1903 für die Art Gallery zu Baltimore (Mitteilung von Miss Dorothy Miner, Librarian & Keeper of Manuscripts in The Walters Art Gallery).

28. Micrologus de ecclesiasticis observationibus. Bertholdus, episcopus Mettensis, Epistola ad Bernhardum episcopum Padeburnensem de oratione, Tres Sermones eiusdem. S. Anselmus Cantuariensis, Meditationes, Proslogion.
Holzeinband mit Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), 2 Metallschliessen.
Perg. 111 Bll. (170 × 120 mm.) XIII. Jh. Einfache rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerk: fol. 1^r, *Liber monachorum in hymmerode* (15. Jh.).
Alte Signatur: *M XII* (fol. 1^r).
Marburg Lat. oct. 234 (G 105).
Schillmann 116^a-118^a.

29. S. Gregorius Magnus, Homiliae. Sermones SS. Augustini, Bedae Venerabilis, S. Joannis Chrysostomi et Originis.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), 2 Metallschliessen.
Perg. 99 Bll. (330 × 230 mm.) XIII. Jh. Grosse rote Initialen mit grünen Ranken.
Besitzvermerk: fol. 57^r wie in Nr. 4.
Tübingen Lat. fol. 724 (G 6).
Schillmann 8^b-9^a.

30. S. Gregorius, Homiliae in evangelia, Sermo de mortalitate, Epistola ad Secundinum episcopum. S. Augustinus, Sermo de quatuor virtutibus karitatis.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), 2 Metallschliessen.
Perg. 155 Bll. (250 × 170 mm.) XIII. Jh. Einfache und mehrfarbige Initialen in rot, schwarz und blau.
Alte Signatur : *G J* (fol. 1^r).
Marburg Lat. qu. 684 (G 58).
Schillmann 60^b-61^b.

31. S. Gregorius Magnus, De cura pastorali. Pseudo-Hegesippus, Passio apostolorum Petri et Pauli. S. Ambrosius, Sermo in natali Martyrum. Variae lectiones de virtutibus et vitiis. Epistola S. Brunonis Carthusiani ad Radulphum, ecclesiae Remensis praepositum. Epistola Carthusiani cuiusdam. Epistola Gelasii papae ad Anastasium imperatorem. Petrus Damianus, De variis miraculis narrationibus (cap. 5-6). Julianus Toletanus episcopus, Prognosticon futuri saeculi.
Holzeinband mit Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), 2 Metallschliessen.
Perg. 160 Bll. (195 × 140 mm.) XIII. Jh. Rote und grüne Initialen.
Besitzvermerk : fol. 118^v wie in Nr. 4.
Alte Signaturen : *G IIII* (fol. 1^r), darüber *F. II. pastoralis cura* (13./14. Jh.).
Marburg Lat. oct. 226 (G 52).
Schillmann 56^a-58^b.

32. Guillelmus de S. Theodorico, Vita S. Bernardi Claraevallensis. Vita S. Mariae de Oignies. Hugo de S. Victore, Super lamentationes Hieremiae.
Einband wie Nr. 27.
Perg. 139 Bll. (320 × 220 mm.) XIII. Jh. 6 Schmuckinitialen.
Besitzvermerke : fol. 1^{ro}, *Liber fratrum monachorum sancte marie in Hemmenrode ordinis Cisterciensis* (15. Jh., durch Chemikalien zu tilgen versucht), fol. 139^v wie in Nr. 4.
Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery MS. W 71 (G 60).
Seymour de Ricci (Titel wie in Nr. 27) . . . I, p. 820, no. 385.
Erworben wie Nr. 27.

33. Haimo, Expositio super epistolas S. Pauli. Epitaphium beati David (monachi Hemmenrodensis). Tractatus S. Bernardi Claraevallensis de XII portis Jherusalem.
Holzeinband mit Leder bezogen (18. Jh.).
Perg. 124 Bll. (316 × 210 mm.) XIII. Jh. 1 Schmuckinitiale, rote und grüne Initialen mit Rankenwerk.
Besitzvermerk : fol. 73^v, *Liber monachorum s. Marie de claustro dicto himmerode ordinis Cisterciensis Treuerensis diocesis* (14. Jh.).
Alte Signatur : *D XXVII* (fol. 124^v).
Tübingen Lat. fol. 725 (G 10).
Schillmann 11^b-12^b.

34. Haimo, Super Cantica Canticorum.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), 2 Metallschliessen.
Perg. 112 Bll. (178 × 113 mm.) XIII. Jh. Rote Initialen.

Besitzvermerke auf fol. 1, 33, 42, 60, 62, 67, 69, 79, 81 herausgeschnitten.
Marburg Lat. oct. 225 (G 28).
Schillmann 22^b-23^b.

35. Haimo, Expositio super Isaiam prophetam.
Jüngerer Pappband mit Schafleder bezogen, ohne Verzierungen.
Perg. II + 150 Bll. (300 × 200 mm.) XIII. Jh. Rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerk: fol. 79^v wie in Nr. 4.
Alte Signatur: *H XX* (fol. 1^r).
Tübingen Lat. fol. 731 (G 23).
Schillmann 17^b-18^a.

36. Haimo, Super Apocalypsim, De varietate librorum.
Holzeinband mit Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), 2 Metallschliessen.
Perg. 152 Bll. (234 × 162 mm.) XIII. Jh.[2] Rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerke: fol. 19^v, 31^r, 51^v, 76^r, 102^v, *Liber monachorum beate Marie in Hemmenrode cisterciensis ordinis treuerensis diocesis* (15. Jh.). Für *in Hemmenrode* steht mehrfach *de Claustro*.
Marburg Lat. qu. 685 (G 61).
Schillmann 62^a-63^a.

37. Hesychius, Commentarius in Leviticum, libri V-VII.
Holzeinband mit Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), 2 Metallschliessen.
Perg. 168 Bll. (230 × 165 mm.) XIII. Jh. Rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerke: fol. 42^v wie in Nr. 4, auf fol. 168 herausgeschnitten.
Alte Signatur: *E XVII* (fol. 1^r).
Die Handschrift war ursprünglich mit Nr. 48 zusammengebunden und wurde erst im 15. Jahrhundert herausgelöst (vgl. Schillmann 242^a).
Marburg Lat. qu. 672 (G 16).
Schillmann 13^b-14^a.

38. S. Hieronymus, Commentaria in XII prophetas minores (Fragment).
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (wie Nr. 48).
(Der Kommentar reicht bis Zacharias c. 14, 13.)
Perg. 119 Bll. (246 × 185 mm.) XIII. Jh. 11 mehrfarbige Schmuckinitialen (braun, blau, rot, grün), kleine blaue und rote Initialen. Am Rand vereinzelt hebräische Noten (14. Jh.).
Besitzvermerk: fol. 1^r, *Liber sancte Marie de claustro dicto Himmerode* . . . (Rest abgeschnitten) . . . *Treueren. dioc.* (14. Jh.).
Alte Signaturen: fol. 1^{ro} in zierlicher Schrift *D V* (14. Jh.), fol. 1^{ro} die gleiche Signatur in Fraktur (15. Jh.).
Brüssel, Bibliothèque Royale MS. 21547.
Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, II (Brüssel, 1902), p. 81, no. 1011.
1857 von Fr. Heussner gekauft (Mitteilung von H. Bibliothekar Delaissé).

39. S. Hieronymus, Tractatus et epistolae.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), Metallecken und-schliessen.
Perg. 210 Bll. (312 × 213 mm.) XIII. Jh. Rote und grüne Initialen mit Rankenverzierungen.

Besitzvermerke: fol. 104^r und 138^r wie in Nr. 4.
Alte Signatur: *J III* (fol. 1^r).
Tübingen Lat. fol. 723 (G 5).
Schillmann 6^a-8^b.

40. Homiliae sive variae lectiones S. Patrum super libros S. Scripturae per anni circulum in ecclesia legendos.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), 2 Metallschliessen.
Perg. 199 Bll. (234 × 165 mm.) XIII. Jh. Rote und blaue Initialen.
Besitzvermerk: fol. 1^r, *Liber sancte Marie in Hem* . . . (15. Jh.).
Marburg Lat. qu. 695 (G 109).
Schillmann 120^b-129^a.

41. Honorius Augustodunensis, Speculum ecclesiae.
Holzeinband mit Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), 2 Metallschliessen.
Perg. 125 Bll. (285 × 205 mm.) XIII. Jh. 1 Schmuckinitiale, einfache rote und grüne Initialen mit Rankenwerk.
Besitzvermerke: fol. 1^r, *LIBER* (abwechselnd rot und schwarz) *Beate Marie in Himmerode* (13. Jh.), fol. 125^v, *Ich horen zo hymmenroyde* (14. Jh.).
Alte Signatur: *H XXIIII* (fol. 1^r).
Tübingen Lat. fol. 734 (G 26).
Schillmann 19^b-20^b.

42. Hugo de S. Victore, De sacramentis.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.).
Perg. 134 Bll. (306 × 225 mm.) XIII. Jh. Rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerk: fol. 59^v wie Nr. 4.
Alte Signatur: *H XVIII* (fol. 1^r).
Tübingen Lat. fol. 726 (G 13).
Schillmann 12^b-13^a.

43. Hugo de S. Victore, Tractatus varii (87).
Holzeinband mit Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), Metallecken und-schliessen.
Perg. 165 Bll. (314 × 225 mm.) XIII. Jh. Rote und grüne Initialen, teilweise mit Rankenverzierungen.
Besitzvermerke: fol. 163^{rb} *Liber sancte marie de claustro* (13. Jh.), sowie *Iste liber pertinet ad claustrum Sancte marie* (17. Jh.), fol. 1^r und 106^r wie in Nr. 4, fol. 54^r, *liber sancte marie de claustro alio dicto nomine hemmenroede treuerensis dyocesis cisterciensis ordinis* (14. Jh.).
Tübingen Lat. fol. 744 (G 41).
Schillmann 38^b-43^b.

44. Hrabanus Maurus, Expositio super Jeremiam prophetam. S. Hieronymus, Super Danielem prophetam. S. Ambrosius, De sacramentis, Liber pastoralis, Tractatus adversus Novatianum, Liber de Isaac et anima.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), Metallschliessen.
Perg. 186 Bll. (285 × 200 mm.) XIII. Jh. Rote, grüne und blaue Initialen.
Besitzvermerke: fol. 99^r und 180^v, *Liber monachorum s. Marie in Himmerode ordinis Cisterciensis Treuerensis diocesis* (15. Jh.).
Alte Signatur: *J V* (fol. 1^r).

Tübingen Lat. fol. 748 (G 50).
Schillmann 53^a-55^a.

45. Gilbertus Porretanus, Liber Psalmorum cum glossa.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), 2 Metallschliessen.
Perg. 205 Bll. (296 × 204 mm.) XIII. Jh. 1 grosse Rankeninitiale, zahlreiche grüne, blaue und rote Initialen mit einfachen Verzierungen.
Besitzvermerk: fol. 150^v wie in Nr. 4.
Tübingen Lat. fol. 751 (G 64).
Schillmann 63^b-64^a.

46. Origenes. Libri X super epistolam S. Pauli ad Romanos a Rufino de graeco in latinum translati.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), 2 Metallschliessen.
Perg. 183 Bll. (295 × 186 mm.) XIII. Jh. Blaue und rote Initialen, teilweise mit Rankenverzierungen.
Besitzvermerke: fol. 1^r, 106^r, 183^v wie in Nr. 4.
Alte Signatur: *O J* (fol. 1^r).
Tübingen Lat. fol. 750 (G 62).
Schillmann 63.

47. Psalterium Marianum.
Jüngerer Pappeinband mit Pergament überzogen. Auf dem Rücken eingepresst: Psalterium Dauidis cum salutationibus ad SS. V. Mariam.
Perg. 80 Bll. (110 × 79 mm.) XIII. Jh. 6 grössere grüne und rote Initialen, zahlreiche kleine rote Initialen mit Rankenverzierungen.
Besitzvermerk: fol 1^r, *Sum Monasterii SS. Mariae de Himmenrod* (17. Jh.).
Trier Hs. Nr. 575/1517.
Keuffer 6. Heft, 2. Abt., S. 33.
Seit 1803 in der Stadtbibliothek Trier.

48. Pseudo-Hesychius, Commentarius in Leviticum.
Holzeinband mit weissem Schweinsleder bezogen, 2 Metallschliessen.
Auf dem Vorderdeckel das in Gold eingepresste Wappen (fruchttragender Eichelzweig) des Abtes Robert Bootz aus Grosslittgen (1685-1730) mit der Umschrift F.R.A.H. (Frater Robertus Abbas Himmenrodensis).
Auf dem Rückdeckel das ebenfalls in Gold eingepresste Konventswappen (zwei verschlungene Ringe) mit den Buchstaben C.H. (Conventus Himmenrodensis).
Perg. 218 Bll. (220 × 156 mm.) XIII. Jh. Rote und grüne Initialen.
Besitzvermerke: fol. 2^r, 61^r, 128^r wie in Nr. 4.
Alte Signatur: E XVI (fol. 1^r). Die Handschrift war ursprünglich mit Nr. 37 zusammengebunden (vgl. Nr. 37).
Marburg Lat. qu. 691 (G 98).
Schillmann 111.

49. Quaestiones super vetus et novum testamentum. S. Gregorius Nazianzenus, Orationes et Sermones.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), 2 Metallschliessen.
Perg. 189 Bll. (210 × 143 mm.) XIII. Jh. Einfache rote, blaue und grüne Initialen.

Besitzvermerk: fol. 88ᵛ wie in Nr. 4.
Marburg Lat. qu. 675 (G 31).
Schillmann 23^b-25^a.

50. Radulfus Flaicensis, Expositio libri Levitici c. I-X. Hugo de S. Victore, De claustro materiali et de claustro animae, De hypocrisi.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), 2 Metallschliessen.
Perg. 132 Bll. (320 × 240 mm.) XIII. Jh. Rote, grüne und blaue Initialen mit einfachen Blattornamenten.
Besitzvermerk: fol. 83^r wie in Nr. 4.
Tübingen Lat. fol. 760 (G 100^a).
Schillmann 112^a-113^a.

51. Stephanus de Langton, Super XII prophetas (I-VII). Sermones breves. Duae epistolae Honorii III papae (1219).
Holzeinband mit Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), 2 Metallschliessen.
Perg. 188 Bll. (148 × 113 mm.) XIII. Jh. Rote und blaue Initialen, teilweise mit einfachen Verzierungen.
Besitzvermerk: fol. 188^r, *Liber beatae Mariae virginis in Claustro Theutonice Hemmenrode Cisterciensis Ordinis Dyocesis treuerensis* (13. Jh.).
Alte Signatur: *S XLIII* (fol. 1^r).
Marburg Lat. oct. 240 (G 124).
Schillmann 171^a-172^b.

52. Stephanus de Langton, Super quosdam libros veteris testamenti.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.).
Perg. 135 Bll. (312 × 212 mm.) XIII. Jh.[2] 1 Zierinitiale, sonst einfache rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerk: fol. 1^r, *Liber sanctae Mariae in Himmerode* (14. Jh.).
Alte Signatur: *S II* (fol. 1^r).
Tübingen Lat. fol. 721 (G 1).
Schillmann 1-3^a.

53. Stephanus de Langton, Super Genesim, Exodum et Lamentationes Jeremiae.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), 2 Metallschliessen.
Perg. 109 Bll. (310 × 226 mm.) XIII. Jh.[2] Rot-grüne Initialen mit Rankenverzierungen.
Besitzvermerke: fol. 1^r wie in Nr. 52, durch Chemikalien aber fast völlig zerstört; fol. 82^r wie in Nr. 4.
Alte Signatur: *S I* (fol. 1^r).
Tübingen Lat. fol. 763 (G 106).
Schillmann 118^a-119^a.

54. Vita et Sermones S. Bernardi, abbatis Claraevallensis.
Holzeinband mit Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), Metallecken und-schliessen.
Perg. 229 Bll. (325 × 227 mm.) XIII. Jh. 1 figürliche Initiale, 8 Schmuckinitialen, mehere rote und blaue Initialen mit Rankenverzierungen.
Besitzvermerk: fol. 81^r, *Iste liber et quedam pars In vitas patrum quondam spectabant et pertinebant ad monasterium pontis leo* (Löwenbrücken, Cistercienserinnenkloster vor den Mauern Triers). *Anno vero domini Millesimo*

quadringentesimo sexagesimo octauo pro debitis collati et dati monasterio Claustro siue hymmerode, ut patet ex litteris desuper confectis eodem anno.
Alte Signatur: *B X* (fol. 1r, 15. Jh.²).
Tübingen Lat. fol. 754 (G 74).
Schillmann 72b-74b.

55. S. Bernardus Claraevallensis, Tractatus et epistolae. Descriptio terrae sanctae.
Pappeinband mit Ziegenleder bezogen (18. Jh.).
Perg. 107 Bll. (155 × 110 mm.) XIII. Jh.² Rote Initialen mit blauer Rankenverzierung, vereinzelt mit roter Strichelung.
Marburg Lat. oct. 236 (G 111).
Schillmann 129b-131a.

56. Breviarium ordinis Cisterciensis.
Jüngerer Pappeinband mit Leder bezogen.
Perg. 191 Bll. (205 × 130 mm.) XIII. Jh.² 1 Schmuckinitiale, mehrere rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerk: fol. 7v, *Iste liber pertinet ad monasterium de hemmenrode* (15. Jh.).
Marburg Lat. qu. 717 (G 171).
Schillmann 232b-233a.

57. Guillelmus Peraldus Lugdunensis, Summa de vitiis.
Pappeinband mit weissem Ziegenleder bezogen (18. Jh.).
Perg. 69 Bll. (118 × 84 mm.) XIII. Jh.² Rote Initialen.
Alte Signatur: *S VII* (fol. 1r).
Marburg Lat. oct. 235 (G 107b).
Schillmann 119b-120a.

58. Petrus Manducator, Historia scholastica. Pseudo-Methodius, Liber de initio et fine mundi.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), Metallecken und-schliessen.
Perg. 164 Bll. (280 × 225 mm.) XIII. Jh.² Einfache rote und grüne Initialen.
Besitzvermerke: fol. 73r und 160v wie in Nr. 4.
Alte Signatur: *P XXIII* (fol. 1r).
Tübingen Lat. fol. 733 (G 25).
Schillmann 18b-19b.

59. Diffinitiones Ordinis Cisterciensis: Exordium Cisterciensis Ordinis, Carta caritatis, Antiquae et novellae diffinitiones Ordinis Cisterciensis.
Jüngerer Pappeinband mit Leder bezogen (18. Jh.).
Perg. 95 Bll. (115 × 80 mm.) XIII. und XIV. Jh. Einfache rote Initialen.
Marburg Lat. oct. 245 (G 175).
Schillmann 233a-234a.

60. De forma visitationis. Fragmentum Kalendarii Cisterciensis. Summa exordii Cistercii. Carta caritatis. Liber usuum ordinis Cisterciensis (Fragment).
Pappband mit weissem, gepresstem Schafleder bezogen (18. Jh.).

Perg. 66 Bll. (230 × 175 mm.) XIII./XIV. Jh. 1 grössere rote Schmuckinitiale, einfache rote Initialen.
Alte Signatur: *V VII* (fol. 1[r]).
Der Liber usuum reicht bis cap. CXVIII (fol. 66[v]) "... bis commedunt autem sextam et quando semel"; den Rest und die fehlenden 3 Kapitel bei Séjalon, *Nomasticon Cisterciense* (Solesmes, 1892), pp. 208-211.
Koblenz Abt. 701 Nr. 301 (G 174).

61. Origenes, Excerpta ex homeliis in Heptateucum. Albuinus, De virtutibus et vitiis. Excerpta varia.
Holzeinband mit Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), 2 Metallschliessen.
Perg. 151 Bll. (150 × 105 mm.) XIII./XIV. Jh. Rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerke: fol. 1[r], *liber sancte marie in* ... (14. Jh.), Rest weggeschnitten. Am oberen Rand der gleichzeitige Eintrag: *liber noue curie* (vgl. Nr. 3).
Alte Signatur: *O III* (fol. 1[r]).
Marburg Lat. oct. 239 (G 123).
Schillmann 166[b]-171[a].

62. Radulfus Flaicensis, Expositio libri Levitici XI-XX (vgl. Nr. 50). Excerpta ex scriptis S. Bernardi Claraevallensis.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), Metallecken und-schliessen.
Perg. 109 Bll. (315 × 218 mm.) XIII./XIV. Jh. Rote Initialen, 1 grössere Initiale mit Verzierungen.
Besitzvermerk: fol. 71[r] wie in Nr. 4.
Alte Signatur: *R II* (fol. 1[r]).
Tübingen Lat. fol. 761 (G 100[b]).
Schillmann 113[a]-114[a].

63. Sermones magistri Petri, cantoris Parisiensis ecclesiae maioris, et Hildeberti, Cenomanensis episcopi.
Holzeinband mit Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), 2 Metallschliessen.
Perg. 76 Bll. (280 × 205 mm.) XIII./XIV. Jh. Rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerk: fol 75[v], *Liber sancte Marie de Hemmenrode* (14. Jh.).
Tübingen Lat. fol. 758 (G 96).
Schillmann 101[b]-108[a].

64. S. Augustinus, Libri quatuor de consensu et concordia quatuor evangelistarum, Varii sermones in quatuor evangelistas. S. Bernardus Claraevallensis, Liber meditationum.
Holzdeckel mit gepresstem Leder bezogen, Metallecken und—schliessen (17./18. Jh.). Auf Vorder—und Rückendeckel getilgte Superexlibris (wie in Nr. 48).
Perg. 201 Bll. (322 × 240 mm.) XII./XIII. Jh. Teil I: zahlreiche kleine, primitive rote und grüne Initialen mit Ranken; Teil II: 1 große rote Schmuckinitiale (fol. 69[r]), sonst kleine rote und grüne Initialen; Teil III: 1 sehr schöne Rankeninitiale in roter und blauer Farbe, 26 kleine Initialen in ähnlicher Ausführung.
Besitzvermerke: fol. 1[r], *liber sancte marie in hemmenrot* (15. Jh., teilweise getilgt); fol. 69[r], 128[v], 194[r] wie in Nr. 4.

Alte Signatur: A XIIII (fol. 1^r = 15. Jh., fol. 8^r = 16 Jh.).
Die Handschrift ging auf der Münchener Versteigerung i. J. 1902 in den Besitz des Freiherrn von Cramer-Klett, Schloß Hohenaschau (Oberbayern) über.
Hohenaschau cod. 10 (G 15).
Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum e Bibliotheca G [oerres] iana (München, 1902), p. 4, Nr. 15; Schillmann 13.

109. — Petrus Lombardus, Glossata super omnes epistolas sancti Pauli apostoli.
Holzdeckel mit gepresstem Leder bezogen; Metallecken und Superexlibris wie in Nr. 64.
Perg. 335 Bll. (303 × 214 mm.) XIII. Jh.[1] 14, z. T. sehr sorgfältig ausgeführte Initialen auf grünem, blauen und gelben Grund mit rot-weissen Spiralranken, die in gefiederten Blättern endigen; eine weitere Initiale blieb unausgeführt; zahlreiche kleine rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerke: fol. 2^r herausgeschnitten, fol. 198^r wie in Nr. 4.
Alte Signatur: P XV (fol. 2^r).
Hohenaschau cod. 26 (G 59); vgl. Nr. 64.
Catalogus (wie in Nr. 64) p. 12, Nr. 59; Schillmann 61.

65. S. Antonius de Padua, Sermones pars II.
Holzeinband mit Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), 2 Metallschliessen.
Perg. 140 Bll. (258 × 182 mm.) XIV. Jh. Rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerk: fol. 1^r, *Liber sancte Marie de claustro* (17. Jh.).
Alte Signatur: *A XXX* (fol. 1^r).
Marburg Lat. qu. 696 (G 110).
Schillmann 129.

66. Bernardus Morlacensis, De contemptu mundi. Carmina diversa.
Einband wie Nr. 1.
Perg. 19 Bll. (265 × 185 mm.) XIV. Jh.
Besitzvermerk: fol. 18^v wie in Nr. 4.
Wien Codex 978.
Denis I, Nr. 614. *Tabulae codicum*, I, S. 168 f. Th. Wright, *The anglo-latin satirical poets and epigrammatists of the twelfth century* (*Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores*, London, 1872), II, pp. 37 ff. Joh. Huizinga, *Herbst des Mittelalters* (Leipzig,[3] 1930), S. 194.

67. Bertholdus de Ratisbona, Sermones de tempore.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), 2 Schliessen.
Perg. 73 Bll. (307 × 205 mm.) XIV. Jh. Rote und blaue Initialen.
Alte Signatur: *S XLVI* (fol. 1^r).
Tübingen Lat. fol. 739 (G 35).
Schillmann 31^a-34^b.

68. Breviarium ordinis Cisterciensis.
Jüngerer Pappeinband mit Leder bezogen.
Perg. 404 Bll. (175 × 137 mm.) XIV. Jh. 1 figürliche und 1 dekorative Initiale, einfache rote, blaue und grüne Initialen.
Marburg Lat. oct. 244 (G 170).
Schillmann 231^b-232^b.

69. Chartularium Himmerodense, pars I.
Holzdeckel mit braunem Leder bezogen (16. Jh.?).
Perg. 117 Bll. (220 × 160 mm.) XIV. Jh. Rote Initialen.
Trier Hs. Nr. 1717/38, 1.
Keuffer 8. Heft, S. 199-202.
Geschenk des letzten Himmeroder Abtes Anselm v. Pidoll (1827).

70. Chartularium Himmerodense, pars II.
Holzdeckel mit gepresstem braunen Leder (Rankenwerk mit Blüten) bezogen (16. Jh.).
Perg. 179 Bll. (245 × 170 mm.) XIV. Jh. Rote Initialen.
Trier Hs. Nr. 1717/38, 2.
Keuffer 8, Heft, S. 182-199.
Herkunft wie Nr. 69.

71. Chartularium Himmerodense, pars III.
Holzdeckel mit gepresstem braunen Leder bezogen (wie Nr. 15).
Perg. 97 Bll. (245 × 175 mm.) 1345. Rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerk: auf der Innenseite des Rückdeckels steht *Anno domini Millesimo Trecentesimo XLquinto conscriptus est hic liber in monasterio de Claustro dicto hymmerode. Amen.*
Trier Hs. Nr. 1717/38, 3.
Keuffer 8. Heft, S. 202 ff.
Herkunft wie Nr. 69.

72. Conradus de Saxonia, Sermones de sanctis.
Holzeinband mit Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), 2 Metallschliessen.
Perg. 146 Bll. (198 × 130 mm.) XIV. Jh., 1 dekorative Initiale; sonst nur einfache rote und blaue Jnitialen.
Besitzvermerk: fol. 146^r, fast völlig ausgekratzt, *Liber sancte marie in hymmenrode Ordinis Cisterciensis treuerensis diocesis* (14. Jh.).
Alte Signatur: *S IX* (fol. 1^r).
Marburg Lat. oct. 229 (G 70).
Schillmann 67^b-68^a.

73. Diffinitiones capituli generalis ordinis Cisterciensis anno 1289 edita. Carta caritatis. Ordinatio Clementis papae IV super reformatione ordinis generali.
Neuband der Königl. Bibliothek Berlin.
Perg. 56 Bll. (214 × 155 mm.) XIV. Jh. Rote Initialen.
Alte Signatur: *D XVI* (fol. 1^r).
Marburg Lat. qu. 715 (G 166).
Schillmann 229^a-230^a.

74. Diffinitiones novellae et statuta papalia ordinis Cisterciensis.
Jüngerer Pappeinband mit Leder bezogen.
Perg. 80 Bll. (160 × 113 mm.) XIV. Jh. Rote Initialen.
Alte Signatur: *D XVII* (fol. 5^r).
Marburg Lat. oct. 242 (G 161).
Schillmann 225^b-226^b.

75. Institutiones capituli generalis ordinis Cisterciensis 1240 et 1256.
Jüngerer Pappeinband mit Leder bezogen.
Perg. 48 Bll. (235 × 165 mm.) XIV. Jh. Rote und grüne Initialen.
Besitzvermerk: fol. 48^v, *Liber monachorum in Himmenrode Ordinis Cisterciensis Treuerensis diocesis* (16. Jh.).
Marburg Lat. qu. 716 (G 167).
Schillmann 230.

76. Libellus antiquarum diffinitionum. Reformationes papae Benedicti XII. Diffinitiones novellae, approbatae per capitulum generale de anno 1350.
Jüngerer Pappeinband mit Leder bezogen.
Perg. 83 Bll. (180 × 125 mm.) XIV. Jh. Rote und blaue Initialen.
Besitzvermerk: fol. 83^v, ist nur noch lesbar, . . . *hemmelroede cisterciensis ordinis treuerensis diocesis* (15. Jh.).
Alte Signatur: *D XIX* (fol. 1^r).
Marburg Lat. oct. 243 (G 168).
Schillmann 230^b-231^b.

77. Directorium ordinis Cisterciensis.
Holzdeckel mit Pergament überzogen, 2 Metallschliessen. Die Wappen von Abt und Konvent auf Vorder-und Rückdeckel sind abgeschabt.
Perg. 78 Bll. (110 × 155 mm.) 1355.
Besitzvermerk: fol 78^r, *Liber monachorum in Hymerode* (14. Jh.).
Trier Hs. Nr. 2313/2254 (G 173).
Keuffer 10. Heft, S. 84 f.
Die Handschrift wurde 1911 durch die preussiche Regierung aus dem Königl. Gymnasium zu Koblenz nach Trier überwiesen.

78. Directorium Cisterciense.
Pappeinband mit weissem Schaffell überzogen (18. Jh.).
Perg. 74 Bll. (139 × 103 mm.) XIV. Jh.
Besitzvermerke: fol. 22^v, *Liber monasterii hymmenrot aut claustri*, fol. 36^r, *Liber monasterii hymmenrot*, fol. 36^v-37^r, *Liber monasterii hymmenrot alias claustri treuerensis diocisis* (!); sämtliche Eintragungen stammen aus dem 15. Jh.
Trier Hs. Nr. 2315/2256 (G 179).
Keuffer 10. Heft, S. 85.
Herkunft wie Nr. 77.

79. Registrum cantoris in ordine Cisterciensi.
Pappeinband mit weissem Schafleder bezogen.
Perg. 110 Bll. (117 × 153 mm.) XIV. Jh.[2] Einfache, rote Initialen.
Trier Hs. Nr. 1270/577.
Keuffer 8. Heft, S. 263.
Seit 1802 in der Stadtbibliothek Trier.

80. Eusebius Caesariensis episcopus, Historia ecclesiastica.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), Metallecken undschliessen.
Perg. 163 Bll. (325 × 220 mm.) 1315. Einfache, rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerke herausgeschnitten; fol. 162^r, *Hunc librum conscribi fecit*

Dominus henricus abbas de hemmenrode. nacione de lulcelnbŏrg. Anno domini M. CCC. XV. (14. Jh.).
Alte Signatur : *E J* (fol. 2^r).
Tübingen Lat. fol. 747 (G 48).
Schillmann 51^b-52^b.

81. [Hugo de S. Victore] (?), Expositio in Isaiam.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), Metallecken und-schliessen.
Perg. 245 Bll. (325 × 225 mm.) XIV. Jh.
Besitzvermerk : fol. 245^v durch Chemikalien getilgt.
Alte Signatur : *H X* (fol. 1^r).
Tübingen Lat. fol. 727.
Schillmann 13.

82. Liber dictaminum.
Neuband der Königlichen Bibliothek Berlin. Auf dem Vorderdeckel ein Schildchen mit 63 = Nr. 63 der i. J. 1815 aus Paris zurückgekehrten Rheinischen Handschriften.
Pap. 119 Bll. (230 × 160 mm.) XIV./XV. Jh.
Besitzvermerke : Auf dem vorgeklebten Pergamentdeckblatt steht innen *Codix* (!) *is pertinet fratribus in Hiemerode,* darunter *Liber monachorum monasterii de Heymmerode alias claustrum dictum ;* fol. 119^v, *Iste liber pertinet adabbatiam in Hymmenrode* (15. Jh.).
Tübingen Lat. fol. 196.
Val. Rose, *Verzeichnis der Lateinischen Handschriften der Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin,* II (Berlin, 1903), S. 794-797, Nr. 769. Karl Lamprecht, *Deutsches Wirtschaftsleben im Mittelalter,* II (Leipzig, 1885), S. 746, III (id.), S. 219.
1802 durch den französischen Regierungskommissar Maugérard an die Bibliothèque Nationale zu Paris geschickt, 1815 an Preussen zurückgegeben, gelangt die Handschrift erst 1819 nach Berlin.

83. Nicolaus de Hanapis, Virtutum et vitiorum exempla ex sacris litteris excerpta.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), Metallecken und-schliessen.
Perg. 208 Bll. (285 × 215 mm.) XIV. Jh. Rote und blaue Initialen, teilweise zweifarbig und mit Rankenverzierungen.
Besitzvermerke herausgeschnitten.
Alte Signatur : *N J* (fol. 1^r).
Tübingen Lat. fol. 722 (G 2).
Schillmann 3.

84. Raymundus de Pennaforte, Summa (Fragment). Notae.
Jüngerer, mit Leder überzogener Pappeinband.
Perg. 48 Bll. (295 × 210 mm.) XIV. Jh. Einfache, rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerk : fol. 10^r wie in Nr. 4.
Tübingen Lat. fol. 757 (G 95).
Schillmann 100^a-101^b.

85. Excerpta ex Summa Raymundi de Pennaforte.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), 2 Metallschliessen.
Perg. 193 Bll. (275 × 190 mm.) XIV. Jh. Rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerk: fol. 1^r, *Liber monasterii sancte marie in hymmerod ordinis cisterciensis treuerensis diocesis* (14. Jh.).
Alte Signatur: *R V* (fol. 1^r).
Marburg Lat. qu. 681 (G 49).
Schillmann 52^b-53^a.

86. Sermones de tempore et de sanctis.
Pappeinband mit Pergament bezogen (16. Jh.).
Perg. 320 Bll. (185 × 130 mm.) XIV. Jh. Einfache, rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerk: fol. 309^v, *liber iste pertinet ad monasterium de hymmerode ordinis Cisterciensis treuerensis diocesis* (14. Jh.).
Alte Signatur: *S XXV* (fol. 1^r).
Marburg Lat. qu. 698 (G 115).
Schillmann 136^a-154^b.

87. Sermones de tempore et de sanctis. Dialogus inter rosam et pueros super Cantica Canticorum. Fragmentum ex vita viri dei Eberhardi, cognomento de Commeda.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.).
Perg. 139 Bll. (285 × 200 mm.) XIV. Jh. Grüne, rote und blaue Initialen, mehrere zweifarbige Initialen mit reichen Rankenverzierungen.
Besitzvermerke: fol. 139^v wie in Nr. 72, fol. 1^r, *Us himenrode dan bin ich Sicherlich* (16. Jh.).
Alte Signatur: *S XV* (fol. 1^r).
Tübingen Lat. fol. 764 (G 114).
Schillmann 133^a-136^a.

88. Tractatus de missa.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), Metallecken und -schliessen.
Perg. 271 Bll. (340 × 235 mm.) XIV. Jh. Rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerke herausgeschnitten.
Alte Signatur: *S XI* (fol. 1^r oben und unten, 14. u. 15. Jh.).
Tübingen Lat. fol. 762 (G 102).
Schillmann 114^a-115^a.

89. Martinus de Oppavia, De gestis summorum pontificum et imperatorum Romanorum.
Pappeinband mit weissem Leder bezogen.
Pap. 186 Bll. (140 × 100 mm.) XIV. Jh.[2] 3 Schmuckinitialen, mehrere rote Initialen.
Von der alten Signatur ist nur ein .J. stehen geblieben.
Marburg Lat. oct. 224 (G 9).
Schillmann 11.

90. Fasciculus sermonum vol. II.
Holzeinband mit Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), Metallschliessen.
Perg. 269 Bll. (190 × 135 mm.) XIV./XV. Jh. Rote und blaue Initialen mit Verzierungen.

Auf fol. 2ʳ ist der Besitzvermerk herausgeschnitten.
Alte Signatur: *D II* (fol. 1ʳ).
Marburg Lat. oct. 233 (G 104).
Schillmann 115ᵇ-116ᵃ.

91. Aeneas Silvius, De origine Bohemorum, Contra Turcos, Ad regem Bohemiae Ladislaum, Contra Bohemos, De curialium miseriis, Epistolae. Johannes de Mandeville, Itinerarium in terram sanctam.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), 2 Metallschliessen.
Pap. 307 Bll. (195 × 132 mm.) XV. Jh. Mehrfarbige Initialen, teilweise unausgeführt.
Marburg Lat. qu. 711 (G 153).
Schillmann 220ᵃ-222ᵃ.

92. Alfonsi regis Castiliae (1252-1282) tabulae variae ad inveniendos annos, dies, aereas, cyclos, indictiones; item ad sciendos motus, operationesque planetarum, quibus antecedunt theoria de planetis eorumque proprietatibus.
Pappeinband mit braunem Leder bezogen. Auf dem Vorderdeckel Schildchen mit der Zahl 61 (= Nr. 61 der i. J. 1815 aus Paris zurückgekehrten Rheinischen Handschriften).
Pap. 2 + 109 Bll. (310 × 223 mm.) XV. Jh.² 2 grössere mehrfarbige Initialen mit reichen Rankenverzierungen, sonst nur einfache rote Initialen; mehrere astronomische Zeichnungen.
Besitzvermerk: fol. 1ʳ, *Liber monachorum sancte marie in hymmerode ordinis cisterciensis Treuerensis dyocesis* (15. Jh.).
Alte Signatur: *A XXXIII* (fol. 2ʳ).
Bonn, Universitätsbibliothek Hs. Nr. S. 497.
1802 durch Maugérard von Himmerod nach Paris geschickt; seit 1819 in Bonn.

93. Aristoteles, Libri ethicorum cum glossis.
Jüngerer Pappeinband mit Leder bezogen.
Pap. 367 Bll. (278 × 200 mm.) 1479. Die vorgesehenen Initialen blieben unausgeführt.
Alte Signatur: *A L* (fol. 2ʳ).
Tübingen Lat. fol. 774 (G 141).
Schillmann 201.

94. Aristoteles, De coelo et mundo, De generatione et corruptione, De anima. Johannes Versor, Quaestiones super libros Aristotelis.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Pergament bezogen wie Nr. 15.
Pap. 216 Bll. (280 × 207 mm.) 1468, 1470. 8 grosse Schmuckinitialen in ziemlich roher Ausführung (Farben: grau, grün, rot, golden). Mehrere primitive geometrische Zeichnungen.
Tübingen Lat. fol. 773 (G 140).
Schillmann 199ᵇ-201ᵃ.

95. Caesarius Heisterbacensis, Dialogus miraculorum (Excerpta).
Pappeinband mit weissem Leder bezogen; Rückenaufdruck: Exempla Caesarii.

Pap. u. Perg. 13 + 109 Bll. (102 × 140 mm.) 1473. 2 rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerk: fol. 1r, *Liber dominorum in hymmenrode* (15. Jh.).
Alte Signatur: *M X* (fol. 1r).
Trier Hs. Nr. 1916/1510.
Keuffer 8. Heft, S. 278.

96. Excerpta privilegiorum totius ordinis Cisterciensis. Tabula privilegiorum monasterii de Claustro, alio nomine Hymmenrode. Eingebunden in eine Pergamenturkunde aus dem Jahre 1485.
Pap. 52 Bll. (147 × 106 mm.) XV. Jh.[2]
Trier Hs. Nr. 1272/575.
Keuffer 8. Heft. S. 263.
Seit 1803 in der Stadtbibliothek Trier.

97. Gesta Romanorum pontificum. Gesta Trevirorum ad annum M CCCC LXXVIII.
Holzdeckel mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (eingepresste Vierecke von Löwen und Greifen), Metallschliessen ab.
Perg. 79 + 128 Bll. (290 × 205 mm.) 1478. 2 grosse Rankeninitialen in blauer, roter und grüner Farbe, sonst nur kleine blaue und rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerke: fol. 79r, *Liber monachorum in hymmenrode*, fol. 83r, *Liber fratrum hymmenrodensium* (beide Einträge 15. Jh.).
Alte Signatur: *G XXXI* (fol. 1r).
Trier Hs. Nr. 1348/90.
Keuffer 8. Heft, S. 23.

98. Humbertus de Prulliaco, Conclusiones circa quatuor libros sententiarum S. Thomae Aquinatis.
Jüngerer Pappeinband mit Leder bezogen.
Pap. 267 Bll. (200 × 138 mm.) 1445, 1464. Einfache, rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerk: fol. 264v, *Anno domini M°CCCC°LXIIII° hec capitula finita sunt per me fratrem Johannem loege, professum in hemmenrode, eodem in loco.*
Alte Signatur: *T IIII* (fol. 1r).
Marburg Lat. qu. 712 (G 154).
Schillmann 222b-223a.

99. Jacobus Magni, Sophilogium, Super psalterium. Miscellanea. S. Bernardus Senensis, Speculum amatorum mundi. Sermones. Hymni.
Einband wie Nr. 85.
Pap. 229 Bll. (285 × 195 mm.) 1427. Rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerk: fol. 120r, *Liber pertinet hic ad hymmenroyd ordinis cisterciensis treuerensis diocesis* (15. Jh.).
Alte Signatur: *J XXXVII* (fol. 1r).
Tübingen Lat. fol. 770 (G 137).
Schillmann 192b-197b

100. Johannes de Tambaco, De consolatione theologiae. S. Bonaventura, De reductione artium ad theologiam, De triplici via, Exercitium. Johannes Gerson, Tractatus varii.
Jüngerer Pappeinband mit Leder bezogen.

Pap. 272 Bll. (137 × 102 mm.) 1467. Rote und mehrfarbige Initialen.
Alte Signatur ; *T XIIII* (fol. 1r)
Marburg Lat. oct. 241 (G 160).
Schillmann 223b-225b.

101. Johannes [Gallus] abbas monasterii Aulae regiae in Bohemia, Malogranatum.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), Metallecken und-schliessen.
Perg. u. Pap. 311 Bll. (283 × 195 mm.) 1441. Rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerke auf fol. 88r und 174r herausgeschnitten.
Alte Signatur : *J XXIIII* (fol. 1r).
Tübingen Lat. fol. 769 (G 136).
Schillmann 192.

102. Liber precum.
Holzdeckel mit gepresstem weissem Schafleder bezogen.
Perg. u. Pap. 188 Bll. (105 × 75 mm.) XV. Jh. 3 Schmuckinitialen nach spätromanischen Vorlagen in Grün, Blau, Gold und Rot ; sonst nur einfache rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerk : fol. 1r, *Liber domus diue virginis deipare oder Closter qui est in Coelis sanktfirsten* (16. Jh.). Die ehemals dem Cistercienserinnenkloster Himmelspforten, Kr. Soest/Westf. zugehörige Handschrift kam später nach Himmerod.
Trier Hs. Nr. 497/1598.
Keuffer 4. Heft, S. 95.
Seit 1803 in der Stadtbibliothek Trier.

103. Liber definitionum capituli generalis de anno 1317. Privilegia ordinis Cisterciensis. Novellae definitiones capituli generalis de anno 1317.
Pappband mit Pergament bezogen.
Perg. u. Pap. 135 + 47 Bll. (150 × 116 mm.) XV. Jh.
Besitzvermerk auf fol. 2r herausgeschnitten.
Alte Signatur : *B XXI* (fol. 1r).
Koblenz Abt. 701 Nr. 299 (G 165).

104. Matthäus Palmerius Florentinus, De Temporibus.
Holzeinband mit Leder bezogen (18. Jh.). Auf dem Vorderdeckel ein Schildchen mit der Zahl 62 (=Nr. 62 der i. J. 1815 aus Paris zurückgekehrten Rheinischen Handschriften).
Pap. 75 Bll. (160 × 110 mm.) XV. Jh. Nur rote Überschriften.
Tübingen Lat. fol. 195.
Val. Rose (vgl. Nr. 12) II, Nr. 875, S. 1031.
1802 durch Maugérard an die Bibliothèque Nationale zu Paris geschickt, wird die Handschrift 1815 an Preussen zurückgegeben ; sie gelangt aber erst 1819 nach Berlin.

105. Missale et Rituale Cisterciense. Consuetudines ordinis Cisterciensis (Fragment).
Holzeinband mit Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), Metallschliessen.

Perg. 101 Bll. (210 × 147 mm.) XV. Jh. 1 ganzseitige Miniatur (Kanonbild, fol. 7^v^), 1 Schmuckinitiale, rote und blaue Initialen.
Marburg Lat. qu. 718 (G 178).
Schillmann 234^a^-235^a^.

106. Meditationes de apparitionibus Jesu Christi.
Pappeinband mit Lederrücken.
Perg. 178 Bll. (125 × 90 mm.) XV. Jh. Rote und blaue Initialen.
Marburg Lat. oct. 250 (G 186).
Schillmann 238.

107. Nicolaus Esculanus de Asculo, Sermones dominicales per totum annum.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), Metallschliessen.
Pap. 183 Bll. (272 × 197 mm.) 1473. Mehrfarbige Initialen.
Besitzvermerk: fol. 182^r^, *Anno gracie M^o^CCCC^o^LXXIII^o^ in vigilia mathei apostoli et ewangeliste finiti sunt sermones prescripti per fratrem iohannem Lutzinck de Andernaco in monasterio hymmerode.*
Tübingen Lat. fol. 775 (G 143).
Schillmann 201^b^-202^a^.

108. Pseudo-Philo, Super Genesim, Exodum, Josue, Judicum et primum regum, etc. et de divisione linguarum. Godefridus Viterbiensis, Historia Apollonii regis Tyri et aliorum regnorum.
Jüngerer Pappeinband mit weissem Leder bezogen.
Pap. 144 Bll. (200 × 140 mm.) XV. Jh. Einzelne Schmuckinitialen, einfache rote Initialen.
Marburg Lat. qu. 703 (G 132).
Schillmann 187^b^-188^b^.

109. siehe S. 191.

110. Quaestiones circa libros Aristotelis. Casus summarii decretorum. Nicolaus de Tudeschis, Super quartum librum decretalium.
Holzband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), Metallschliessen.
Pap. 324 Bll. (278 × 204 mm.) 1432. Rote und grüne Initialen.
Besitzvermerk auf fol. 107^r^ herausgeschnitten.
Alte Signatur: *V XII* (fol. 1^r^).
Tübingen Lat. fol. 776 (G 144).
Schillmann 202^a^-204^b^.

111. Registrum cantoris (Directorium Cisterciense).
Pappband in weisses Schweinsleder gebunden; auf dem Rücken eingepresst: 'Directorium'.
Pap. und Perg. 4 + 143 Bll. (150 × 80 mm.) XV. Jh. Kleine rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerke: fol. 2^r^, *Ad usum fratris Jacobi Wytlich* [monachi Himmerodensis, + 1548] *anno domini M^o^CCCCC^o^VII^o^*; fol. 1^r^, *Registrum cantoris scil. ecclesiae in Cardena* (17./18. Jh.). Nach einer teilweise unleserlichen Notiz auf fol. 2^r^ ging die Handschrift i. J. 1665 durch Schenkung in den Besitz des Kollegiatsstiftes Karden a.d. Mosel über.
Trier, Diözesanarchiv Hs. Nr. 577 (198 F).

112. Regula S. Benedicti.
Jüngerer Pappband mit Lederrücken und-ecken.
Perg. u. Pap. 50 Bll. (205 × 137 mm.) 1438. Rote Initialen.
Alte Signatur : R XIX (fol. 1^r).
Marburg Lat. qu. 713 (G 163).
Schillmann 227^a-228^b.

113. Regula S. Benedicti.
Pappeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.).
Perg. 27 Bll. (265 × 205 mm.) XV. Jh.
Besitzvermerk auf dem Vorsatzblatt : *Inservio C[onven]tui Himmerod.* (18. Jh.).
Marburg Lat. qu. 714 (G 164).
Schillmann 229^a.

114. Repertorium satis compendiosum secundum modum alphabeticum in regula S. Benedicti, in libro usuum Cisterciensis ordinis, registro cantoris atque super libello definitionum et in antiquas et novellas, super Benedictinam, super privilegia communia et privata monasterii de Himmerode. Signa in ordine Cisterciensi consueta.
Pappband mit weissem gepresstem Schafleder bezogen (18. Jh.).
Pap. 191 Bll. (210 × 145 mm.) 1484. 2 grössere blaue Schmuckinitialen mit reichem rotem Rankenwerk, mehrere kleine Initialen in ähnlicher Ausführung ; sonst einfache rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerke herausgeschnitten. Die Himmeroder Provenienz geht aus folgendem Eintrag auf fol. 1^v hervor : *Istud autem opus . . . collectum et compositum est anno domini Millesimo CCCC°LXXXIIII° per fratrem Johannem Siberch de Colonia, professum monasterii de Claustro alias Hemmenrode.*
Koblenz Abt. 701 Nr. 298 (G 162).

115. Repertorium satis compendiosum (wie Nr. 114).
Einband wie Nr. 114.
Pap. 202 Bll. (205 × 150 mm.) 1484. Einfache, rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerke wie in Nr. 114.
Koblenz Abt. 701 Nr. 300 (G 169).

116. Sermones dominicales.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), 2 Metallschliessen.
Pap. 223 Bll. (265 × 200 mm.) 1450. Rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerk : fol. 223^r, *Iste liber pertinet ad monasterium de hymmenroede* (15. Jh.).
Tübingen Lat. fol. 767 (G 127).
Schillmann 173^a-180^a.

117. Sermones dominicales cum exemplis.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), 2 Metallecken und-schliessen.
Pap. 428 Bll. (275 × 200 mm.) XV. Jh. Rote Initialen.
Tübingen Lat. fol. 768 (G 128).
Schillmann 180^a-185^a.

118. Sermones dominicales.
Jüngerer Pappeinband mit Leder bezogen.
Pap. 402 Bll. (210 × 145 mm.) 1471. Rote Initialen.
Marburg Lat. qu. 708 (G 149).
Schillmann 212.

119. Speculum virtutum. Thomas Kempensis, De imitatione Christi. Gerardus Brant, De conceptione Mariae, Dicta de eadem materia. Excerpta ex S. Thoma de Aquino.
Holzdeckel mit weissem Schaffell überzogen.
Pap. 189 Bll. (148 × 108 mm.) 1457. Primitive rote und blaue Initialen mit Rankenwerk.
Trier Hs. Nr. 786/820.
Keuffer 6. Heft, 2. Abt., S. 110.
Seit 1803 in der Stadtbibliothek Trier.

120. Tractatus varii ascetici. Johannes de Tambaco, De consolatione theologiae.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), Metallschliessen.
Pap. 315 Bll. (275 × 195 mm.) 1468. Rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerk: fol. 21^r, *Liber monachorum in hymmenrode ordinis cisterciensis treuerensis diocisis* [!] (15. Jh.).
Tübingen Lat. fol. 745 (G 42).
Schillmann 43^b-48^a.

121. Ulricus Engelbertus de Argentina, Summa theologica lib. V et VI.
Holzeinband mit gepresstem Leder bezogen (18. Jh.), 2 Metallschliessen.
Perg. u. Pap. 222 Bll. (280 × 195 mm.) XV. Jh. Rote Initialen.
Alter Besitzvermerk: L II (fol. 1^r).
Tübingen Lat. fol. 766 (G 125).
Schillmann 172^b-173^a.

122. Bernardus de Parentinis, Tractatus super totum missae officium. Sermo de recommendatione sacerdotii. Martinus de Spira, De ecclesiastico interdicto. S. Bernardus Claraevallensis, De Passione Jesu Christi, Iubilus de nomine Jesu, Speculum monachorum, Tractatus de corea, Excerpta. Hugo cardinalis, Liber confessionum. Summa edita a fratre minore poenitentiario domini papae de cognitione quorumlibet peccatorum et qualiter sit confitendum.
Pappeinband mit Schweinsleder überzogen.
Pap. 312 Bll. (210 × 152 mm.) XV. Jh.[1] 1 primitive Schmuckinitiale, rote Initialen.
Besitzvermerk: fol. 1^r, *Liber monachorum sancte marie in Hemmenrode ord. cist. treuerensis dyocesis* (15. Jh.).
Alte Signatur: *B XVII* (fol. 1^r).
Trier Hs. Nr. 691/253.
Keuffer 6. Heft, 2. Abt., S. 39.
Seit 1803 in der Stadtbibliothek Trier.

123. Vitae sive gesta sanctorum et venerabilium patrum monasterii in Hemmenrode.
Holzeinband mit Leder bezogen.

Perg. 91 Bll. Klein-Quart. 1459.
Besitzvermerk: fol. 91^{v}, *Iste liber collectus et conscriptus est anno dni Millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo nono sub reverendo patre dno nostro dno Petro de Wittlich abbate huius Claustri* (15. Jh.).
London, B.M. MS. Add. 21616.
Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum 1854-1860 (London, 1875), p. 473.
P. Ferdinand Oberkontz, Himmeroder Konventuale und nachmaliger Pfarrer von Pommern a.d. Mosel, (+ 1.12.1813), vermachte die Handschrift (*Ad salvandam memoriam Claustri Himmerodensis,* fol. 1^{v}) der Pfarrbibliothek zu Pommern. Am 6. Dezember 1856 wurde sie mit 5 anderen Codices von dem Pariser Kunsthändler Edwin Tross für 1285 frs. an das Britische Museum verkauft (Mitteilung von Dr. C. H. Talbot, University of London).

124. Liber orationum.
Pappeinband mit Leder bezogen.
Perg. 71 Bll. (80 × 55 mm.) XV./XVI. Jh. Rote und blaue Initialen.
Marburg Lat. oct. 254 (G 192).
Schillmann 241.

125. Documenta ascetica. Hymni. Vita Jesu Christi (Meditationes).
Pappeinband mit Lederrücken.
Pap. 163 Bll. (130 × 85 mm.) 1579.
Marburg Lat. oct. 248 (G 184).
Schillmann 237.

126. Expositio decalogi. Tractatus de horis canonicis.
Pappeinband mit Pergament bezogen.
Pap. 160 Bll. (130 × 93 mm.) 1584.
Marburg Lat. oct. 252 (G 190).
Schillmann 240.

127. Jacobus Fischer, Dictata in Catechismum Petri Canisii.
Pappeinband mit Lederrücken.
Pap. 206 Bll. (134 × 90 mm.) 1582.
Marburg Lat. oct. 249 (G 185).
Schillmann 237^{b}-238^{a}.

128. Jacobus Fischer, Expositio canonis missae. Gerardus Scapulus, Expositio evangeliorum et epistolarum totius anni.
Pappeinband mit Lederrücken.
Pap. 423 Bll. (140 × 95 mm.) 1586/87.
Marburg Lat. oct. 247 (G 183).
Schillmann 236^{a}-237^{a}.

129. Jacobus Fischer, Expositio canonis missae. S. Bonaventura, Tractatus de praeparatione ad missam, De exercitiis spiritualibus.
Pappeinband mit Lederrücken.
Pap. 162 Bll. (143 × 100 mm.) 1586/87.
Marburg Lat. oct. 253 (G 191).
Schillmann 240^{b}-241^{a}.

130. Liber devotissimarum orationum.
Jüngerer Pappeinband mit Leder bezogen.
Pap. u. Perg. 14 + 138 + 15 Bll. (110 × 76 mm.) XVI./XVII. Jh. Rote und blaue Initialen.
Marburg Lat. oct. 251 (G 189).
Schillmann 238b-240a.

131. Vita et miracula s. Dauid Himerodensis.
Ungebunden in Papierumschlag.
Pap. 16 Bll. (206 × 140 mm.) XVI. Jh. Rote Initialen.
Trier, Bibliothek des Bischöfl. Priesterseminars Hs. Nr. 167.
Jakob Marx, " Handschriftenverzeichnis der Seminarbibliothek zu Trier ", in: *Trierisches Archiv, Ergh.* 13 (1912), S. 115.

132. Officium Cisterciense iuxta Romanum qualiter persolvatur [Rituale Himmerodense]. Modus et ordo eligendi abbates Himmerodenses.
Ordo pro novitiis ab abbate Matthia de Lesura (1631-1647).
Pappband mit braunem Leder bezogen.
Pap. 126 beschriebene Seiten; der Ordo pro novitiis ist als SS. 127-140 angeheftet. (215 × 170 mm.) XVII./XVIII. Jh.
Trier, Diözesanarchiv Hs. Nr. 581 (207 F).
1849 schenkte der ehemalige Himmeroder Konventuale Johannes Schlemmer (+ 23.1.1851 als Domkapitular zu Trier) die Handschrift der Trierer Dombibliothek (Eintrag auf dem Vorlegeblatt).

133. Sanctuarium Himmerodense.
Pappband mit aufgemalten Blumenmustern. Auf dem Vorderdeckel Schildchen mit der Zahl 60 (= Nr. 60 der i. J. 1815 aus Paris zurückgekehrten Rheinischen Handschriften).
Pap. 197 Bll. (220 × 175 mm.) XVII. Jh.[2]
Bonn, Universitätsbibliothek Hs. Nr. S. 347.
Herkunft wie Nr. 92.

134. [Robertus Bootz, abbas Himmerodensis (1685-1730),] Series abbatum claustri B.M.V. de Himmerode (Autograph des Verfassers).
Pappeinband mit braunem Leder bezogen.
Pap. 268 Bll. (195 × 125 mm.) XVII. Jh.[2]
Koblenz Abt. 701 Nr. 77.

135. [Robertus Bootz, abbas Himmerodensis,] Series abbatum Claustri B.M.V. vulgo Himmenrode et memorabilium sub ipsis gestorum.
Pappeinband mit weissem Schafleder bezogen.
Pap. 224 beschriebene SS. (220 × 175 mm.) XVII./XVIII. Jh.
Trier Hs. Nr. 1721/433.
Keuffer 8. Heft, S. 205.
Geschenk des letzten Himmeroder Abtes Anselm v. Pidoll an die Stadtbibliothek Trier (1827).

136. [Robertus Bootz, abbas Himmerodensis,] Series abbatum Claustri B. Mariae Virginis in Himmenrode S. Ord. Cist. in Archi-Dioecesi Trevirensi ac Memorabilium sub ipsis gestorum ex Caesario Heisterbacensi, Annalibus

Trevirensibus et Cisterciensibus et MM. SS. Himmenrodensibus eruta per F. Robertum Bootz, eiusdem Monasterii Abbatem L^{mum}.
Holzdeckel mit weissem Pergament bezogen, Superexlibris von Abt Robert und Konvent wie bei Nr. 48.
Pap. 420 beschriebene SS. (330 × 225 mm.) XVII./XVIII. Jh.
Trier Hs. Nr. 1720/432.
Keuffer wie Nr. 135.
Seit 1812 in der Stadtbibliothek Trier.

137. [Liber fraternitatis capellae Gelincks in Hemmenrode]. (fol. 1^{r}: In hoc libro continentur Nomina Fratrum Conventualium, Laicorum et Saecularium Pertinentium ad Capellae Gelings fraternitatem ab Anno Millesimo Centesimo Tricesimo Tertio).
Pappeinband mit Leder bezogen (17. Jh.); Vorderdeckel fehlt. Auf dem Rückdeckel sind in der Mitte eine gotische Strahlenmadonna, in den Ecken Engel und als Einfassung Zierleisten eingepresst (früher vergoldet).
Pap. 93 beschriebene und 84 leere SS. (190 × 155 mm.) XVII./XVIII. Jh., 2 grössere Schmuckinitialen.
Besitzvermerk: *Liber iste comparatus, collectus et conscriptus est a fratre Joanne Roberto Trevirensi Anno prioratus sui nono, Dominicae Jncarnationis* 1613 (Vorlageblatt).
Koblenz Abt. 96 Nr. 2228.
Seit 1885 im Staatsarchiv Koblenz.

ABKÜRZUNGEN

Koblenz	Staatsarchiv Koblenz.
London	British Museum, London.
Marburg	Westdeutsche Bibliothek in Marburg/Lahn (Bestände der ehemaligen Preussischen Staatsbibliothek Berlin).
Paris	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
Trier	Stadtbibliothek Trier.
Tübingen	Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen (Bestände der ehemaligen Preussischen Staatsbibliothek Berlin).
Wien	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien.
Denis	Denis, Michael, *Codices manuscripti theologici Bibliothecae Palatinae Vindobonensis* I, 3, Wien, 1794.
Keuffer	Keuffer, Max, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Trier.* 4. Heft: M. Keuffer, *Die liturgischen Handschriften*, Trier, 1897. 6. Heft, 2. Abt.: G. Kentenich, *Die aszetischen Handschriften*, Trier, 1910. 8. Heft: Keuffer-Kentenich, *Verzeichnis der Handschriften des historischen Archivs*, Trier, 1914. 10. Heft: G. Kentenich, *Die philosophischen Handschriften*, Trier, 1931.

Schillmann	Schillmann, Fritz, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*, 14. Bd. (*Verzeichnis der Lateinischen Handschriften*, 2. Bd : *Die Görreshandschriften*), Berlin, 1919.
Tabulae codicum	*Tabulae codicum manuscriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum edidit Academia Caesarea Vindobonensis.* Vol. I : Cod. 1-2000, Wien, 1864.
G	Die Görreshandschriften der ehemaligen Preussischen Staatsbibliothek (heute Öffentlich-Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek Berlin) sind durch Einklammerung und Angabe der Nummer gekennzeichnet ; z.B. (G 68).

THE PROOF-SHEETS OF DR. JOHNSON'S PREFACE TO SHAKESPEARE

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DR. JOHNSON'S Preface to his edition of Shakespeare is probably his greatest single critical pronouncement and a splendid example of his prose style. And it is, of course, a landmark in Shakespearean criticism. Although some scholars are doubtless aware of the existence of proof-sheets of this famous Preface [1] with Johnson's corrections there has been no published account of them, and it may be hoped that a rather full examination will be welcomed.

It must be stated initially and regretfully that the proof-sheets are not complete nor final. They cover two signatures only, somewhat less than half of the entire Preface. The signatures, in eights, are complete; the first is signed A; the second, a. The two signatures cover exactly the same amount of material (to the very catchword) covered in the first two signatures of the published Preface,[2] evidence that Johnson had the compositor constantly in mind as he revised. That there were proofs later than the ones now under examination is readily demonstrable by comparison of the extant proofs with the published Preface. The published Preface has 'exciting laughter' ([A6]^r) [3] instead of the 'exciting merriment' of the proofs, and 'alterations of exhibition' ([A6]^r) instead of 'vicissitudes of exhibition'. Neither of the readings of the published Preface appears as a marginal correction in the proofs, obvious evidence that there was at least one further set of proofs which bore these and other revisions.

[1] Professor James L. Clifford of Columbia University called them to my attention and procured microfilms of them for me. The originals are in the possession of the John Rylands Library (English MS. 653).

[2] References are to the Preface as it appears in the first edition. The edition was published five times during Johnson's life, and there are changes in the Preface in every edition.

[3] For the sake of convenience I use a single bracket for an unsigned leaf even though the signatures on signed leaves appear in brackets in the published Preface.

We do not, then, have the full story of the various changes that Johnson made in his Preface before he was content to let it be published.

A number of the differences, both marked and unmarked, between the published Preface and the proof-sheets are of relatively minor importance and can be dismissed with a mere cataloguing. There are a few spelling changes, the latter of the following spellings obtaining in the proofs: 'ancients' for 'antients', 'unpractised' for 'unpracticed', and *Palmerin* for *Palmeria.* None of these spellings has been corrected in the proofs. Although most instances of changes in punctuation are not the result of corrections to be found in the proofs there are a few marginal corrections which show Johnson's concern for punctuation, and I suspect that more of the changes in punctuation would be shown to be his rather than those of an interfering compositor with the discovery of later proof-sheets. The first marginal note in the proofs points to the thoroughness with which Johnson went over them. At the bottom of the first page of these proofs there appears the notation 'q. Signature ',[1] 'q.' obviously standing for 'query'. The first signature in the proofs is an unbracketed A; the signatures in the published Preface are all bracketed. Johnson seems to have thought that there already was a signature A in the first volume; actually there is none as we now have it.

Considerations of greater interest are the verbal changes and substitutions that Johnson made. The first readings in the following list are those of the published Preface; the notations 'Corrected' or 'Uncorrected' beside the second readings indicate whether Johnson made the corrections in these proofs:

But love is only [A4]r	But love is but (Corrected)
as it acts in [A4]r	as it is in (Corrected)
exciting laughter [A6]r	exciting merriment (Uncorrected)
alterations of exhibition [A6]r	vicissitudes of exhibition (Uncorrected)
whatever lighter pleasure [A6]v	whatever merriment (Uncorrected)
There is not much [A7]r	There is not a much (Corrected)
yet soon fading [A8]r	but soon fading (Corrected)
this poet [A8]v	*Shakespeare* (Uncorrected)
through right and wrong [B]r	through good and evil (Uncorrected)
loosely formed [B]r	slightly formed (Corrected)

[1] Although one might doubt Johnson's concern with such matters as signatures, the hand in this note is his.

He omits opportunities [B]^{r}	He often opportunities (Corrected)[1]
catastrophe is improbably [B]^{v}	catastrophe is often improbably (Corrected)
loves of *Theseus* and *Hippolyta* combined [B]^{v}	lives of *Theseus* and *Hippolyta* are combined (Both Corrected)
pleasantry licentious [B]^{v}	merriment licentious (Corrected)
of that severity [B2]^{r}	of severity (Corrected)
been always some modes of gayety [B2]^{r}	been some modes of gayety [2]
performance seems constantly [B2]^{r}	performance seems always (Uncorrected)
In narration he affects [B2]	In narration he often affects (Uncorrected)
progress of the action [B2]	progress of the fable (Corrected)
found it an encumbrance [B2]^{r}	found it ungraceful (Corrected)
joint authority [B3]^{r}	united authority (Corrected)
resign him [B3]^{r}	resign them (Corrected)
that he sees [B4]^{r}	that he saw (Uncorrected)
calenture of the brains [B5]^{r}	calenture of the head (Corrected)
imitation [B5]^{v}	imitations (Uncorrected)
auditor of a drama [B6]^{r}	auditor of a play (Uncorrected)
We may reasonably suppose [B6]^{v}	It is reasonable to suppose (Uncorrected)
and as the unities [B6]^{v}	and the unities (Uncorrected)
display all the orders [B7]^{r}	display the orders (Uncorrected)
to copy nature [B7]^{r}	to display nature (Uncorrected)
what I have here not dogmatically but [B7]^{r}	what I have now, not dogmatically, but (Uncorrected)
I am almost frighted [B7]^{r}	I am now almost frighted (Uncorrected)
the wall [B7]^{r}	the walls (Uncorrected)
rate his native force [B7]^{v}	raise his hopes (Uncorrected)
The publick was gross [B8]^{r}	The publick was yet gross (Uncorrected)
who then aspired [B8]^{r}	who aspired (Uncorrected)
of writings [B8]^{v}	of his writings (Uncorrected)
made known to [B8]^{v}	made known by (Uncorrected)
His stories [B8]^{v}	His plots (Uncorrected)

Examination of the context in which these changes appear indicates that Johnson was particularly anxious to avoid verbal repetition. He carried this to such extremes that we see him substituting 'joint authority' ([B3]^{r}) for 'united authority' because, presumably, 'united' is 'cognate' with 'unities', the subject of the paragraph in which these words appear. In two instances ([B3]^{r} and [B4]^{r}) we find him correcting grammatical errors. Certain substitutions can be attributed to his desire for the exact word: 'an encumbrance' for 'ungraceful', 'calenture of the brains' for 'calenture of the head', and 'the action' for 'the fable'. These and the many other similar changes bear witness to the care with which Johnson revised the Preface before publication.

[1] I assume that Johnson originally wrote 'often omits' and sacrificed 'often' out of consideration for the compositor.

[2] Johnson corrects the proofs by indicating the insertion of 'always' after 'gayety'.

'The stream of time, which is continually washing the dissoluble fabricks of other poets, passes without injury by the adamant of *Shakespeare*' is one of the more familiar and often-quoted sentences of the Preface ([A8]^{r}). It had originally read: 'The stream of time, which is continually shattering the frail cement of other poets . . .'. Thanks to the proof-sheets we have the opportunity of comparing Johnson's first, and rejected, version of this famous sentence with the final version as we now have it. This change is not, however, the most extensive Johnson made. Compare the following; the first readings are those of the published Preface:

The interchanges of mingled scenes seldom fails to produce the intended vicissitudes of passion. Fiction cannot move so much, but that the attention may be easily transferred; and though it must be allowed that pleasing melancholy be sometimes interrupted by unwelcome levity, yet let it be considered likewise [A6]^{v})	It is not common to be so much moved by fictitious calamities, but that the attention may be immediately transferred to different objects; and though it must be allowed that the mind may be sometimes interrupted in a state of pleasing melancholy, yet it must likewise be considered (Uncorrected)
When the imagination is recreated by a painted landscape, the trees are not supposed capable to give us shade or the fountains coolness; but we consider, ([B6]^{r})	The imagination is recreated by a painted landscape, not that the trees are supposed to give us shade, or the fountains coolness; but that we consider (Uncorrected)
Agencourt. A dramatick exhibition . . . ([B6]^{r}, 1.10)	*Agencourt*. A play read, affects the mind, like a play acted. A dramatick exhibition . . . (Uncorrected)
A play read, affects the mind like a play acted. ([B6]^{r}, 1.18)	
Our authour's plots are generally ([B8]^{v})	It is well known, that his plots are generally (Uncorrected)

This last change was probably made for considerations of grammar, 'his' in the proof-sheets appearing in the first sentence of a paragraph and lacking an antecedent.

There are a few marginal notations in the proof-sheets which, because the corrections they call for are not found in the published Preface, lead me to suspect that the version we have may not represent the final version as Johnson intended us to have it. Of course, unless the later proof-sheets (there may even have been more than two sets), unfortunately missing, turn up this suspicion cannot be finally verified. The first correction is one of punctuation, Johnson indicating that 'determine; the' ([B2]^{r}) should be changed to 'determine. The'. This seems relatively unimportant, but the identical change, making two sentences of one, is characteristic of Johnson's method of revision, occurring time

after time in his revision of his *Adventurer* essays [1] and in his text of Shakespeare. A second correction, again of punctuation, calls for the capitalization of 'histories' ([B3]v), which remains uncapitalized in all subsequent editions. A third correction, like the first, is one which I feel sure Johnson intended for his final version. The Preface's 'be represented' ([B5]r) also appears in the proof-sheets but is there corrected to 'be shown'. It is significant, in light of the many times that Johnson changed a word to avoid repetition, that 'are represented' should appear in the same sentence in which one finds 'be represented'. A fourth, and final correction points to the substitution of 'a' for 'the' in the words 'essential to the fable' ([B6]v).

The Preface was almost surely the last part of the edition to be written. When one remembers how long the public had been waiting for the edition and how many times Johnson disappointed it after having promised publication one is struck by the care with which he revised the Preface. Despite much learned opinion to the contrary, Johnson's edition of Shakespeare is not a work worthy of his powers, and it is a tribute to him, I feel, that he did not immediately wash his hands of the whole somewhat annoying business by consigning the first draft of the Preface to the printer, at the same time thanking God he was done. But then Johnson was writing one of the two things at which he himself said he excelled.

[1] I am preparing an article on Johnson's revision of these essays.

JOHNSONIANA FROM THE BAGSHAWE MUNIMENTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY: SIR JAMES CALDWELL, DR. HAWKESWORTH, DR. JOHNSON, AND BOSWELL'S USE OF THE 'CALDWELL MINUTE'.

By F. TAYLOR, M.A., Ph.D.

KEEPER OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY

IN 1950 the John Rylands Library received on deposit from Major F. E. G. Bagshawe of Ford Hall[1] the extensive muniments of the Bagshawes of Ford, one of the oldest families in Derbyshire. This collection is rich in eighteenth century material, among which two groups in particular stand out: the personal and military papers of Colonel Samuel Bagshawe (d. 1762)[2] and the family papers of his brother-in-law Sir James Caldwell (d. 1784),[3] 4th Baronet of Castle Caldwell, co. Fermanagh. The former are more circumscribed and compact, the latter, with which we are concerned here, more miscellaneous in nature, for Caldwell busied himself with many activities—political, military, social, economic and literary—and all are represented with varying degrees of fullness. His main interests were undoubtedly political and among his own writings, which are comparatively numerous, literary topics are not represented. Nevertheless, as an author himself, frequently in touch with publishers, and as one who engaged extensively in social life, notably in Dublin, London and Bath, he had a number of contacts in the literary world and his letters and papers provide some interesting footnotes to the general body of literary information of the time. He was, for example, a friend of Lady

[1] I take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to Major Bagshawe both for the interest he has kindly shown in this article while it was in the course of preparation and for his readiness to assist with information relating to his family collections.

[2] Colonel of the 93rd Regiment of Infantry, M.P. for Tallagh, co. Waterford, and for some years Second in Command in the East Indies.

[3] Colonel Bagshawe married Catherine Caldwell on 25th March, 1751.

Mary Wortley Montagu, of Dr. Johnson and Dr. Hawkesworth, of Garrick and of Arthur Young, and corresponded with Garrick's friend Albany Wallis, with the would-be dramatist Gorges Howard and with Swift's ' prince of Dublin printers ', George Faulkner. He was on particularly friendly terms with Johnson and Hawkesworth. Some thirty letters exchanged with the latter occur in the collection, either in originals or contemporary copies, together with other papers, while as regards Johnson himself perhaps the most interesting survivals are the Caldwell Minute, which Boswell cites in the *Life* as a source for his account of the famous conversation with George III, and a contemporary copy of the letter which accompanied the Minute when Johnson sent it to Caldwell at the latter's request.

Before describing this material, perhaps something should be said of Caldwell himself, for he is comparatively unknown and, with one exception,[1] the few scattered references which occur in printed sources tell us little of his career. He was the eldest son [2] of the 3rd Baronet, Sir John, and his wife Anne, daughter

[1] The privately printed family history, *The Bagshawes of Ford* (1886), by W. H. G. Bagshawe, where (pp. 289-304) will be found an account of the Caldwells and their relations ; Mr. Bagshawe also left manuscript notes on the family. Unless otherwise stated, the outline biography of Sir James Caldwell given above is based partly on these and partly on Caldwell's own original letters and papers. In the latter case references are given to the relevant documents in the Bagshawe Muniments, which are cited throughout this paper as ' B '. As Caldwell's extensive correspondence is referred to frequently below, it may be noted that it has been arranged in two main blocks : Letter Books (B 3/6-3/12) and, secondly, originals and drafts (B 3/13-3/20). The Letter Books contain copies of his correspondence (1745-1783 *passim*), mostly in bound volumes, made either by himself, or, more frequently, by his amanuenses. The two blocks supplement each other ; originals have survived which were not entered in the Letter Books and the Letter Books contain copies of letters now missing. Other Caldwell letters have survived elsewhere, e.g. British Museum Add. MSS. 23, 825-827 *passim* (seven to Sir Thomas Robinson, 1747-1748), 35, 126, f. 123 (to Arthur Young, 1772), 20, 733, f. 21 (to John Almon, 1779) ; the Forster Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum (to Garrick, 1776). See also B.M. King's MS. 439. Portraits of Caldwell are in the possession of Major Bagshawe at Ford Hall. One is reproduced in *The Bagshawes of Ford*, pl. facing p. 291.

[2] His five brothers (Hume, Henry, Frederick, John and Charles) all had distinguished careers. For Hume Caldwell see *D.N.B.* A holograph manuscript of Sir James's ' Life of the late Colonel Hume Caldwell ' which he presented to the King is now B.M. King's MS. 427.

of John Trench, Dean of Raphoe, and was born in or about 1720. After an education at Dundalk and Trinity College, Dublin,[1] he, to quote his own words,[2] ' set out on his Travels and spent sometime in Foreign Courts and Acquainted himself with the Languages and Constitutions of different States.' While abroad he rendered important military and diplomatic services to Maria Theresa[3] who, in March 1749, created him Count of Milan; he was offered the post of Lord Chamberlain to the Empress but, as an oath of allegiance was necessary, refused it. He also served in Italy under the King of Sardinia, to whom he acted as aide-de-camp. It was during his early travels in France that he first met Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, probably in May 1746. In a letter of 26 May of that year to Montesquieu he refers at length to a conversation he had had with her the previous day and to her views on various subjects.[4] Later the same year he arranged to accompany her to Italy[5] and in one of his early Letter Books he has copied two sets of verses she wrote, one of which does not appear in Wharncliffe's edition.[6] That there was correspondence between them is clear from a letter which he wrote shortly after her death to her daughter Lady Bute, in which he mentions the ' Friendship and Regard for me which she had honoured me with during our Stay together in the South of France, and of which she had frequently given me assurances by Letter after

[1] To which, according to Burtchaell and Sadleir (*Alumni Dublinenses*, 1935 edn., p. 127), he was admitted on 22nd March, 1737, being then seventeen years of age.

[2] From one of a series of Memorials (B 3/22/1-28) which he addressed to the King, various Lords Lieutenants of Ireland, and others, setting out his claims to an Irish peerage. They are invaluable sources of information for his career.

[3] David Hume, who met him in Vienna, was, however, not impressed. See the comment in his letter of 15th April, 1748 to John Home (*The Letters of David Hume*, ed. Greig, i. 128; in the footnote to that page Caldwell, by a slip, is referred to as ' 3rd Bart.').

[4] B 3/7/1, fos. 24 *seq.* See also B 3/6/1, fo. 19v.

[5] ' I have made a party to go with Lady Mary Wortly Montegu to Italy ', Caldwell to Lady Clifford (B 3/7/1, fo. 11); repeated in a letter to Henry Belasyse (*ibid.*, fo. 9v).

[6] ' Verses wrote under General Churchill's Picture.' The other set, beginning ' With toilsome steps I pass thro' Life's dull road,' is printed by Wharncliffe, *Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ii. (1861), 504.

we quitted that Country '.[1] But in the present collection there has survived only a four-page draft, in rather general terms, of a letter which he wrote to her in or about September 1746.[2] There is, however, in two other letters,[3] evidence of the friendship to which he refers, which apparently lasted until her death. Caldwell remained abroad for some six years, returning to London in May 1749. Thenceforward his travelling appears to have been limited mainly to Ireland and England and he is found frequently in Dublin and London and, later in life, visiting various English watering-places. He began to concern himself more particularly with Irish affairs, so that the Duke of Northumberland could say of him, 'Sir James has made the political and commercial Interest of that Kingdom very much his Study and has distinguished himself for his Zeal and Publick Spirit in endeavouring to promote its Trade, Agriculture and Manufactories and to bring them to a more flourishing state '.[4] These interests are reflected in the numerous pamphlets he wrote on various subjects and in his English and Irish *Debates*, for which he is perhaps best known. He also assiduously cultivated a wide circle of political and other friends, both in these islands and abroad, as his surviving correspondence shows. On 21 May 1752 he was made Deputy Governor of his own county,

[1] B 3/16/127. A draft, in Dr. Hawkesworth's hand (*v. infra*, n. 3).

[2] B 3/15/104.

[3] In a letter to Lord Newtown, written shortly after her return to England, he states: 'My old Acquaintance and agreeable Friend Lady Mary Wortley Montague is arrived here [London] extreamly well and in good Spirits . . . I have been all this morning endeavouring to persuade her to publish something, but without effect, though I know she writes a great deal and has many Excellent performances by her; I cannot tell whether I ever shewed your Lordship any of her Mss. which she did me the honour to give me when I was with her abroad' (B 3/10/595). The second letter (B 3/16/127), the draft mentioned above, made by Hawkesworth for Caldwell to send to Lady Bute, relates to assistance Lady Mary had offered him in his efforts to secure an Irish peerage. To this end he had placed 1,000 guineas in her hands, to lay out as she might think fit. Hearing in July (1762) of her serious illness he hastened from Castle Caldwell to London, but she was too weak to see him, although she sent him assurances through her physician, Mr. Middleton. The purpose of this long letter was to lay the whole case before Lady Bute with a view to recovering the money; it is undated but may be assigned to 1762, shortly after 21st August.

[4] Northumberland to Townshend, B 3/10/247.

Fermanagh, and Colonel of a Regiment of Militia there. Four years later he served as High Sheriff. In 1760 he became Colonel Commandant of the 20th Dragoons (the Enniskillen Light Horse),[1] revived at his own expense when invasion threatened ; for this service he later (1764) received the Freedom of the City of Dublin.[2] In 1753 he had been admitted as a Fellow of the Royal Society. On 30 January 1762, on the recommendation of the Duke of Devonshire, he was appointed a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber. He died at Castle Caldwell in February 1784, and was buried in the private chapel there. His wife, Elizabeth, whom he married in November 1753, was the eldest daughter of Dr. Josiah Hort, Archbishop of Tuam, by Elizabeth Fitzmaurice, who was sister of Mary, Countess of Shelburne and aunt of William, 2nd Earl of Shelburne, later 1st Marquess of Lansdowne.

Caldwell and Shelburne were on friendly terms [3] and we may note in passing that when, encouraged by the latter, the agriculturist and social economist Arthur Young made his tour of Ireland in 1776, Shelburne wrote a letter [4] recommending him to Caldwell. Young visited Castle Caldwell in August of that year and in his well-known *Tour in Ireland*, published in 1780, he acknowledges his host's hospitable reception and deals at length with Castle Caldwell and its husbandry.[5] In fact, he

[1] Papers relating to the Enniskillen Light Horse are now B 3/23. The services of 'Pitt's friend Sir James Caldwell' in this respect are mentioned in Basil Williams's *Life of William Pitt*, ii. 44-45, and Brian Tunstall's *William Pitt*, p. 289, quoting vol. 70 of the Pitt Papers.

[2] The Casket presented to him with the Freedom is now at Ford Hall together with many other Caldwell relics.

[3] Of their correspondence a few originals, some drafts and several contemporary copies have survived here. Shelburne's father, the 1st Earl, was a trustee under Caldwell's marriage settlement (B 3/25/7) and after his death Caldwell, at his widow's request, wrote his epitaph (B 3/10/154). A brief reference to Caldwell occurs in Fitzmaurice's *Life of William, Earl of Shelburne* (i. 359).

[4] B 3/16/411 (1st June 1776). Caldwell and Young were corresponding before this (B.M. Add. MS. 35,126, fos. 123-4, Jan. 1772; B 3/10/360, April 1772).

[5] See *Arthur Young's Tour in Ireland* (ed. Hutton), i. 188 *sqq.*, and the index references. In his *Autobiography* (ed. Betham-Edwards) Young again mentions Caldwell's kindness (p. 75) and quotes a characteristic anecdote of him (pp. 69-70).

asked Caldwell's advice concerning his book. 'I am perplexed about the Publication of my Tour', he writes on 28 January 1777,[1] 'I do not want to make it an object of literary profit, but I wish not to be a considerable loser by it. I am told the Dublin Booksellers will give very little for the Copy, but that may be because I do not know the right persons, and as to a Subscription, the difficulties of that would, I suppose, be equal. If they ever publish'd in Ireland, as I think they have, I wish you would give me some Information on this point.' Caldwell's reply is not in this collection but later in the year (5 June)[2] we find Young informing him that 'I am advised by all my friends to Publish my Tour of Ireland by Subscription. I have, therefore, taken the liberty to inclose some Subscription receipts which you will be so kind as to distribute.' Caldwell gave him this assistance, but the latest surviving letter between them (12 July 1779) which remains here indicates that Young was finding this method of publication unsatisfactory.[3]

Caldwell's most interesting literary connections, however, were with Dr. Hawkesworth and Dr. Johnson. Although hardly regarded as a major figure by modern scholars, Hawkesworth was of importance in his own day and he has attracted, and no doubt will continue to attract, attention if only by reason of his early intimacy with Johnson. The two had known each other from at least 1743 and so well that, according to Mrs. Thrale,[4] Johnson recommended any future biographer of his to apply to Hawkesworth for anecdotes of his early years in London. Both had been members of the old Ivy Lane Club and their association in various projects, notably *The Gentleman's Magazine* and *The Adventurer*, is part of the literary history of the time. So

[1] B 3/10/486.

[2] B 3/10/493. The Bagshawe Muniments contain three original letters from Young to Caldwell (B 3/16/410, 30th August 1772; 3/16/412, February 1778; 3/16/413, 12th July 1779) and some half-dozen contemporary copies (all in B 3/10, April 1772-July 1779) of which the originals have not survived here.

[3] B 3/16/413. 'It is with Concern that I shall be obliged to advertize to the subscribers I have had in Ireland that I cannot publish owing to a very few gentlemen taking receipts and not returning them.'

[4] *Thraliana*, ed. Katherine C. Balderston, p. 173. Cf. Mrs. Piozzi's *Anecdotes of the late Samuel Johnson*, ed. S. C. Roberts, pp. 23-24.

close had been their relationship that, Boswell informs us, it was probably ' the residence of his friend Hawkesworth at that place ' which led Johnson to have his wife buried at Bromley.[1] In later years they are said to have become estranged, but Caldwell remained on friendly terms with both throughout his life.

Of the two Hawkesworth is the more fully represented in the present collection, which contains twenty-eight [2] of his letters and a number of other papers in his hand. The first surviving letter is dated February 1758, but he and Caldwell were certainly corresponding the previous year [3] and they continued to do so at least until May 1771 [4] and very probably until Hawkesworth's death some two and a half years later. But the papers probably add more to our knowledge of him than the letters, for they reveal an entirely new side of his activities : the fact that he acted as a kind of literary adviser to Caldwell, assisting him with the drafting of his political and other pamphlets and even with the wording of his more important personal correspondence. Several of these drafts are still extant and from them we may learn something of their collaboration. In most of the cases Hawkesworth is responsible for writing out the first version, which Caldwell then revises, generally only slightly. Where the process is reversed, we find Hawkesworth revising Caldwell's wording drastically. Caldwell, in fact, seems to have given him full freedom to compose or alter at will, exercising only a general supervision. The draft of the letter [5] which Caldwell sent to

[1] *Life*, i. 241 (unless otherwise stated all references to the *Life* are to the Hill-Powell edn.) She was buried by the Rev. Thomas Bagshaw, perpetual curate there. There is nothing in the Bagshawe Muniments to suggest any direct connection between him and the Bagshawes of Ford.

[2] Twenty-six to Caldwell, two to Lady Caldwell. Of the twenty-six, twelve are originals and the remainder copies which Caldwell had entered in one of his Letter Books (B 3/10) ; this Book also contains a copy of one letter (1759) from him to Hawkesworth. In addition to the above, there are three letters to Caldwell from Hawkesworth's widow.

[3] The letter of 1758 (Hawkesworth to Caldwell, B 3/10/575) is in reply to one of 8th December 1757.

[4] B 3/10/348. The contents of this lengthy letter—it fills a dozen pages of the Letter Book—indicate clearly that it was not intended to be the last they would exchange.

[5] *Supra*, p. 214, n. 3. This draft runs to four large pages and is imperfect at the end.

Lady Bute concerning Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, for example, is entirely in Hawkesworth's hand. Some two years later (November 1763) he compiles a flattering letter for Caldwell to send to Pitt, but not without expressing his disapproval, for, after copying it out, he adds, ' In compliance with your Request I have now written the Letter to Mr. Pitt, though both my Feeling and my Judgment disapprove the Measure ; it is paying Court with too minute an Attention . . . within the Rank of Gentlemen such a subserviency is due from no one Character to another.'[1] In another example, a letter to Lord Townshend (December 1772)[2] requesting his good offices in the matter of an Irish Peerage, the first draft is in Caldwell's hand, but Hawkesworth's revision amounts almost to a rewriting and he cancels whole passages with which he disagrees. He gave similar help with the wording of two Memorials submitted to the King, one by Caldwell himself, respecting his peerage claim,[3] the other by Caldwell's sister, Mrs. Bagshawe, drawing attention to the services of her late husband, Colonel Samuel Bagshawe.[4]

More striking than the correspondence are the political papers. For example, Caldwell's well-known *Account of the Speeches in Both Houses of Parliament, at the Opening of the Session in 1762*,[5] which is represented here by two manuscripts. Both are in Hawkesworth's hand and have clearly been read through by Caldwell, who also no doubt provided the basic material. The one,[6] which is imperfect, has survived only in a single leaf, but each side is filled with Hawkesworth's small writing and Caldwell has done no more than strike through and mark ' not to be used ' a quotation from Isaac Barré's attack on Pitt ; it is omitted both from the printed version and from a fair

[1] B 3/16/129. [2] B 3/19/72. [3] B 3/22/5.

[4] B 3/16/130. This draft is entirely in Hawkesworth's hand. Cf. Scott and White's *Cat. of the Manuscripts remaining in Marsh's Library, Dublin* [1913], p. 29, no. cxiii. Colonel Bagshawe died on 16th August 1762.

[5] Printed in the Appendix (pp. 563-575) to vol. 1 (1841) of Wright's edition of *Cavendish's Debates*, from 'two letters addressed by Sir James Caldwell to Lord Viscount Newton . . . contained in a manuscript volume of letters, presented by the writer, on the 30th of August 1763, to the right honourable William Pitt, afterwards first Earl of Chatham, "as a memorial of sincere gratitude and high respect".' See also *ibid.* p. vi. [6] B 3/21/3a.

copy which is also in the Bagshawe Muniments.[1] In the other,[2] the debate on Bedford's motion to end the German war, which runs to over ten pages, there are only two minor emendations in Caldwell's hand; this text, incidentally, is slightly fuller than either the printed one or another fair copy which Caldwell caused to be made.[3] The association of Hawkesworth with work of this kind[4] is of particular interest in view of his previous experience, for it was he who, in 1743, had taken over the reporting of the parliamentary debates for *The Gentleman's Magazine* from Dr. Johnson. In addition to the 'Speeches', he also provided for Caldwell drafts of the *Essay on the Character and Conduct of . . . Lord Visc. Townshend*, which the latter published in 1771,[5] and for a treatise dealing with the defence of Ireland.[6] That he gave other assistance in the same direction is clear from a letter he sent to Caldwell in January 1763, which also throws light on the way they worked together: 'By the last Post', he writes, 'I sent you my own original, of which I now enclose you the Copy which I procured to be made. I believe in this Copy there are few trivial Improvements which you will discover and adopt upon comparing it with the original. I also enclose (as I did in my last) an account of the Reasons on which severel[7] deviations from your own Instructions are founded. It is a great disadvantage on these occasions not to have a personal Conferrence.[7] However, being obliged to make my own Judgment

[1] Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 564; B 3/21/3, respectively. One page only of the latter has survived. [2] B 3/21/2a. [3] B 3/21/2.

[4] As regards its reliability, Caldwell prefaces the account in B 3/21/2 with the following statement: 'As I never take notes, but depend upon my Memory for the Speeches, it is impossible but I must sometimes Blend in the Warmth of my Immagination [*sic*] some of my own thoughts with those of the speakers; I do all in my power to avoid it, but it may happen that I can not distinguish the one from the other. In the Courts of Law it is Necessary to take Notes as to Precedents and Statutes, but a Mere argument or declamation may be better remembered without; for taking Notes Necessarily fixes the mind so much and so long upon Particular parts that it is Impossible to preserve the chain that Connects the whole unbroken.' Cf. the quotation from the preface to his later (1766) *Irish Debates* given in Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 563.

[5] B 3/16/141. Part of one leaf only has survived, corresponding to pp. 22-26 of the printed pamphlet.

[6] B 3/16/140, a fragment, endorsed by Caldwell *Defence of Ireland.* [7] *Sic.*

the Standard I have taxed it to the utmost.'[1] There is evidence, too, that Hawkesworth helped with the preparation of papers intended to be read by Caldwell before the Dublin Society[2] and on one occasion, at least, he provided a lengthy criticism of a play which the author had forwarded to Caldwell for comment; in the latter case perhaps the circumstances were exceptional, for the play, Gorges Howard's *Almeyda, or the Rival Kings*, was adapted from Hawkesworth's own *Almoran and Hamet*.[3] Two other literary services performed at Caldwell's request may also be mentioned as they concern apparently unknown, although admittedly trivial, productions of Hawkesworth, a hymn and certain prayers for special occasions. The former,[4] of no importance in itself, is not without interest in that Hawkesworth intended it to be set to music by Charles Burney, 'a very able and Ingenious man now rising into High Reputation . . . I shall be well pleased to see his name and mine stand together.'[5] The latter, the fruit of an idea of Caldwell that pilferers and other malefactors among his employés could be reformed by prayer, were composed and forwarded to him by Hawkesworth in May 1771.[6] Caldwell's friend Skelton was invited to compose similar prayers but, with more cynicism, firmly refused, as 'the people woud [*sic*] pray and pilfer; pray with one hand

[1] B 3/16/128. It is not clear to which particular work this refers, but Caldwell has endorsed it *Relative to the Light Horse*.

[2] See B 3/21/9a, a four-page draft in Hawkesworth's hand, with some emendations by Caldwell, of a plan which the latter proposed to that Society in 1764 for encouraging the Dublin fish trade; this draft, with its many alterations, provides a good example of the thoroughness with which Hawkesworth performed these services. B 3/21/9 is a fair copy of the final version.

[3] Hawkesworth's letter containing this criticism is B 3/16/134 (3rd October 1767). For Howard's letter to Caldwell see B 3/16/167. Writing to Caldwell on 24th July 1776 (B 3/10/461) Howard mentions that he has almost entirely rewritten his tragedy *The Female Gamester* 'upon the advice of Doctor Samuel Johnson.'

[4] B 3/26/54, a printed broadsheet. For Hawkesworth's authorship see B 3/10/604.

[5] Hawkesworth to Caldwell, B 3/10/272 (2nd April 1769). For Hawkesworth's friendship with Burney see Percy A. Scholes, *The Great Dr. Burney*, i. 42, 133, 194-196. The setting of the hymn was finally done by John Stanley (B 3/10/280), who composed the music for his oratorios *The Fall of Egypt* and *Zimri*.

[6] B 3/10/348. A small collection of these prayers is now B 3/26/56-65.

up, and pilfer with the other in the pocket of him who kneels next '.[1]

Caldwell showed his appreciation of Hawkesworth's help in various ways. He recommended him to friends,[2] for example, and promised to remember him in his will.[3] Even stronger evidence of his confidence is the fact that he entrusted to him the supervision of the education of his two sons, John (his heir) and Fitzmaurice Caldwell, who had been placed with a tutor at Bromley where Hawkesworth lived.[4] He advised him, too, concerning the dedication of his *Telemachus* to Lord Shelburne (Lady Caldwell's cousin)[5] and obtained for him the influence of Shelburne's aunt Lady Arabella Denny.[6] He also endeavoured to further the sale of his works. Thus he helped with the subscription list for *Telemachus*[7] and, in 1769, we find him drawing the attention of a possible subscriber to a projected edition of Hawkesworth's works, ' ready to deliver in about Eighteen Months '.[8] He went to even greater lengths when, in 1771, the

[1] Skelton to Caldwell, 27th May 1771 (B 3/17/74). For the Rev. Philip Skelton, see *D.N.B.* Dr. Johnson, hearing that he had sold his library for the support of the poor, called him ' a great good man ' (*D^{r}. Campbell's Diary of a Visit to England in 1775*, ed. J. L. Clifford, p. 86). The Bagshawe Muniments contain 12 original Skelton letters, together with some contemporary copies; they are concerned mainly with his personal relations with Caldwell and in them he expresses himself with considerable freedom.

[2] Among them Mrs. M. Bernard, who writes to Lady Caldwell on 7th April 1768 mentioning that she has given Hawkesworth ' some hours, if not days, employment by putting into his hands many letters of my late Uncle's Hugh Bethell, the celebrated friend of M^{r}. Pope ' (B 3/31/8).

[3] On 25th May 1771 Hawkesworth thanks Caldwell ' for your affectionate attention to me in your Will . . . the Terms in which you have mentioned me do me honour and you have contrived your bequest so that it will be paid me whether I am living or dead ' (B 3/10/348). Two drafts of Caldwell's Will survive here, made in 1771 and 1780 respectively (B 3/25/2 and 7), but Hawkesworth is mentioned in neither.

[4] There are numerous references to this supervision in the Hawkesworth-Caldwell correspondence.

[5] See B 3/10/234, 276. In March 1768 Hawkesworth complains to Lady Caldwell that her husband has taken ' the only perfect Copy of my Dedication to Lord Shelburne ' to Ireland with him (B 3/31/27).

[6] B 3/10/276.

[7] B 3/10/237, 243; 3/31/27. In a contemporary list of various of Caldwell's receipts and bills occurs ' The cost of Doctor Hawkesworth's Telemachus ' (B 3/27/7, fol. 17^{v}.).

[8] B 3/10/286, Caldwell to Dr. King at Oxford.

latter was appointed by Lord Sandwich to revise and publish an account of the late voyages to the South Seas, for, in an effort to protect Hawkesworth's rights, he wrote directly to Tisdal, the Attorney-General for Ireland, asking his opinion on copyright and piracy in that country and, in November of the same year, addressed a similar letter to another legal friend requesting him to make enquiries of a like nature among his law acquaintances.[1]

These services did not end with Hawkesworth's death, for in 1776 and 1777 Caldwell, like Dr. Johnson, was consulted about the proposal to publish his Collected Works for the benefit of his widow. Johnson's letters on the subject to Hawkesworth's brother-in-law, John Ryland, may be supplemented by three in the present collection from Mrs. Hawkesworth to Caldwell. On 14 June 1776 she writes to him from Bromley, 'I hop'd before this time to have transmitted to you an Account of the Publication of my long expected Work, but have had it delay'd, as I fear'd I should, by our friend Dr. Johnston to whose Judgement I wish'd to commit the Papers for such a Selection as will I hope do Honour to the Author. I hope, however, as he says that he has almost gone thro' them, that I shall be able to print during the latter [end] of the Summer, so as to publish early in the Winter. I hoped to have received an Account of such things as you had by you and which you supposed would have in some degree been worth the Notice of the Publick, consequently fit to have included in my Miscellaneous Work. There will still be time to send them.'[2] On 20 July she writes again,[3] thanking Caldwell for his interest and telling him that her intended publication remains 'just as when I last mentioned it to you, but I am in daily Expectation of receiving the Papers from Doctor Johnson'; once more she expresses the hope that

[1] These two lengthy and interesting drafts are now B 3/16/336 (Caldwell to Tisdal) and B 3/16/396 (Caldwell to a 'Mr. White'); in the latter Caldwell suggests another means of securing for Hawkesworth the profits of the sale in Ireland 'if nothing can be done in the legal way'.

[2] From the copy entered in Caldwell's Letter Book, B 3/10/457. Another copy, now B 3/16/143, reads 'Johnson' for 'Johnston' and supplies 'end,' omitted from the former.

[3] B 3/10/459.

he will be able to find 'some Tract which will be worth communicating', as distinct from private correspondence, which it was apparently intended also to include. Meanwhile Johnson was in contact with Ryland on the subject[1] and it was not until 27 August 1777 that Mrs. Hawkesworth was able to inform Caldwell that 'I have at length got the Papers from Doc^{r}. Johnson and have enclos'd an Extract from his Letter[2] which came with the Papers'. She felt, however, on general grounds, discouraged from proceeding with the undertaking and, after wondering whether she might not have to publish by subscription, stated that she had postponed her decision on the whole matter for a few weeks; this did not prevent her from suggesting to Caldwell that 'the Arabian Tale and several other Things will certainly make two other Volumes if I shoud[3] find it eligible and publish more than the four Volumes above mentioned [i.e. in Johnson's letter to Ryland, which she quotes]; but I would not add a sylable[3] for any purpose than that of doing honour to the Author, nor will I precipitatly[3] determine in an Affair of such consequence'.[4] The outcome is not clear, but it seems that her mood of discouragement prevailed, for apparently the publication did not take place.

Mrs. Hawkesworth's reference to 'our friend' Doctor Johnson in her letter of 14 June 1776 is only one of a number of indications of the relationship which existed between Caldwell and Johnson. How the two first became acquainted we do not

[1] See his letters of 21st September, 1776 (Birkbeck Hill, no. 498), 14th November 1776 (*ibid.*, 501) and, particularly, 12th April 1777 (*ibid.*, 514). References to Johnson's letters throughout are to the numbers of Birkbeck Hill's edition (1892).

[2] This is the letter which Johnson wrote to Ryland on 12th April 1777 (*op. cit.*, no. 514). She quotes roughly half of it, omitting ll. 15-29, 40-41. Dr. R. W. Chapman has most kindly allowed me to see the page-proofs containing this letter from his forthcoming edition of Johnson's letters.

[3] *Sic.*

[4] Mrs. Hawkesworth to Caldwell, B 3/16/144. 'The Arabian Tale' is Hawkesworth's *Almoran and Hamet; an Oriental Tale*, referred to in Johnson's letter as 'the Novel' (Birkbeck Hill, no. 514). Mrs. Hawkesworth's discouragement, which had its origin in the circumstances of her husband's death, is also reflected in the letter of 20th July 1776, in which she stresses his Christian principles and, while admitting that his final publication, the *Voyages*, was financially advantageous, states that it delivered 'the *Coup de grace* to all my hopes of happiness on earth'.

know, although there are a number of possible points of contact. Several of Johnson's friends, for example, were either friends or relatives of Caldwell. Among them we may mention Lord and Lady Shelburne,[1] Shelburne's brother the Hon. Thomas Fitzmaurice, and Lord Marchmont (all relatives of Caldwell), Thomas Barnard, Dean of Derry,[2] Garrick,[3] and, of course, a likely candidate, Hawkesworth himself. Some of these, however, may have become acquainted with Johnson or Caldwell at a date later than that at which these two became acquainted with each other. Exactly when that was we have no evidence to say, but the scattered references brought together here show that they were known to each other for at least twenty years. Thus, on 14 July 1763, in the course of a reply to a request for printed information dealing with the Irish woollen trade, the Dublin bookseller George Faulkner enquires of Caldwell, 'How are D^{r}. Hawkesworth and Mr. Johnson? I hope they are both well and that you will be pleased to make my best Wishes and Respects to them, and should be glad to know if the former got my present of Swift's works to him.'[4] In or about the same year Caldwell invited Hawkesworth and Johnson to stay with him in Ireland. The former's letter of thanks has survived and in it he states that should it prove 'impossible for M^{rs}. Hawkesworth to accept your obliging Invitation, I shall not have fortitude enough to leave her. Johnson, who is with me, desires his Compliments but he has no thought of

[1] Caldwell married Shelburne's cousin in 1753 and maintained the friendliest relations with him, often, as this collection shows, staying at his house in London. Johnson was well-known to Shelburne as early as 1762 (see *Life*, iv. 513-514) and was also friendly with his brother, the Hon. Thomas Fitzmaurice.

[2] The eight original Barnard letters in this collection (B 3/17/1-7, 9; no. 8 is a draft from Caldwell to Barnard) cover the years 1775-1778, but the two were well-known to each other before this; thus, in no. 1 Barnard refers to himself as 'an Old Freind' and in no 2. signs himself 'Your very Sincere and Faithfull old Freind and Servant.' On 8th June 1776, Barnard writes: 'This night Garrick acts King Lear for the last time. He told me he had received a Letter from you lately (*v. infra*, p. 225), but I believe we shall not tempt him to Ireland. Mrs. B. and I are to be at his house at Hampton next week' (B 3/17/2).

[3] *V. infra*, pp. 225-26.

[4] Faulkner to Caldwell, in London, B 3/16/88.

crossing the Channel.'[1] Again, Caldwell's brother John, writing to him from London on 22 April 1771, asks, 'Did not your friend Doctor Johnston's Pamphlet upon Falkland Islands give you great pleasure? It has been exceedingly admired'.[2] A further indication of their friendship occurs in a letter which Caldwell wrote to Garrick in 1776. In the Spring of that year he had invited Garrick to stay at Castle Caldwell and on 14 May Garrick sent him a reply[3] which, although very warm, was rather inconclusive. In the course of it Garrick mentioned that 'our poor friend Wallis'[4] was still greatly distressed by a recent bereavement, and Caldwell seized the opportunity to write again two days later[5] suggesting that Wallis should visit Castle Caldwell as a distraction from his grief and that Garrick should accompany him. The latter seems to have responded favourably, for on 3 June Caldwell sent him a long and detailed letter,[6]

[1] Hawkesworth to Caldwell, B 3/16/130 (imperf.); accompanying Hawkesworth's draft of Mrs. Bagshawe's Memorial to the King (*v. supra*, p. 218). According to Boswell, Johnson 'shewed upon all occasions an aversion to go to Ireland' (*Life*, iii. 410).

[2] B 3/13/83, Caldwell being at Castle Caldwell. Johnson's *Thoughts on the late Transactions respecting Falkland's Islands* was published in March 1771 (see Courtney's *Bibliography of Samuel Johnson*, rev. Nichol Smith, pp. 115-16).

[3] Garrick's original is now B 3/16/114—Caldwell had a copy of it entered in his Letter Book (B 3/10/450)—and his draft is in the Forster Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Garrick Corresp., ii. fos. 85-6). It is printed in *The Private Correspondence of David Garrick*, ii. (1832), 150. I am obliged to Mr. Arthur Wheen, Keeper of the Library in the Victoria and Albert Museum, for his kind assistance with this and the two references below to the Forster Collection.

[4] Albany Wallis, Garrick's friend and executor and the donor of the monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey, whose only son, an Abbey chorister, had been drowned in March; Garrick erected the memorial in the Cloisters. Wallis's reply to a letter of sympathy from Caldwell on this occasion is now B 3/16/386. The collection contains 3 other letters from Wallis to Caldwell (1775-1779), together with many of his business letters and papers, for he was the legal adviser to Mrs. Bagshawe, Caldwell's sister.

[5] Caldwell to Garrick, 16th May 1776 (V. and A. Museum, Forster Coll., Garrick Corresp., ii. fo. 87).

[6] Caldwell's original is now V. and A. Museum, Forster Coll., Garrick Corresp., ii. fos. 88-93, from which it was printed in *Notes and Queries*, 8th ser., i. (1892), 1; his draft is B 3/16/115. As Dean Barnard suspected (*vide supra*, p. 224, n. 2), the visit was never paid. In a letter of February 1779, written from Bath to Lord Townshend, Caldwell, mentioning Garrick's decease, refers

'marking out to you the rout which I so earnestly wish you and Mrs. Garrick to take', and describing the various places through which they would pass. Among them was Market Hill, and, Caldwell continues, 'it was at Market Hill, as you know, that Dean Swift wrote many of his poems, in particular "Hamilton's Bawn" . . . Doctor Johnson, who wished to insert in his "Dictionary" every word authorised by Swift, asked me what a *bawn* meant. I told him and yet he has neglected to insert it.' This interest in the *Dictionary* is shown in another letter, which has survived in draft form. Writing to a publisher (un-named) recommended to him by 'my particular Friend' Albany Wallis, concerning the reprinting of an Appendix to his Irish *Debates*, Caldwell suggests in a post-script that a work might profitably be published dealing with the various authors cited as sources in the *Dictionary*, adding 'you are the first person, as a Publick Spirited Man, that I have ever mentioned this scheme to, not even to Doctor Johnston, tho' I have the pleasure of being well acquainted with him.'[1] He was also acquainted with Mrs. Thrale, for on 3 June 1780, in a letter to Johnson written from Bath, she mentions him as one known to both of them.[2] Three days later, writing to her, Johnson has a reference to a 'Sir James' who may well be Caldwell.[3]

However close the friendship between Johnson and Caldwell may have been, it was not sufficient to ensure the latter receiving

to him as 'my most amiable and much esteemed acquaintance' and states that he has written to 'some literary friends in London' asking them to send an elegy or monody on his death, 'its being the subject for the Prize Poem next Thursday senight at Bath' (B 3/15/144, draft).

[1] B 3/16/418. See also the bill from Faulkner, *infra*, p. 235, n. 2.

[2] Rylands English MS. 540/98. 'Everybody is going. Mrs. Byron, Mrs. Lambert, all the folks. Sir James Coldwall [*sic*] has shone enough—he must go to his *Aphelion* now.' (See also the following note.) While at Bath Caldwell had been giving a series of concerts (B 3/15/149, draft letter to Townshend).

[3] *Letters*, no. 675 (6th June 1780): 'And you think to run me down [apparently to Bath] with the Bishop [of Peterborough] and Mrs. Carter, and Sir James.' Birkbeck Hill comments, 'Sir James was probably the same man as Sir J. C— who invited far more people to his party than his rooms would hold; "a bawling old man".' His reference is to Mme. D'Arblay's Diary. In her own annotated copy of Johnson's letters to her, published in 1788, Mrs. Piozzi, as she then was, noted at the side of this letter: 'I have forgotten who Sir James was'.

a mention by Boswell in the *Life*, or rather in the body of that work. Many others, of course, with much stronger claims were also passed by and, as Birkbeck Hill has pointed out, an interesting paper might be written on the subject of such omissions.[1] But although not mentioned in the body of the *Life*, Caldwell is referred to in a foot-note[2] as being the former owner of a document which Boswell used as a source—and, as it appears, the main source—for his account of Johnson's conversation with George III in the Queen's House in February 1767. Now this conversation has an interest of its own, for Boswell himself considered it to be not merely 'one of the most remarkable incidents of Johnson's life'[3] but also one of the two main attractions of his biography, the other being, of course, the Chesterfield letter. Although it extended only to eight pages, he had it printed separately in 1790 from the same type as the corresponding portion of the *Life* (then going through the press) and issued at the exorbitant price of half a guinea;[4] the Chesterfield letter, which filled only four pages, had been similarly off-printed and priced earlier the same year.[5] 'The intention',

[1] *Letters*, no. 88. Other circumstances apart, Caldwell's association with Hawkesworth (whom Boswell attacked for his 'provoking effrontery') would hardly be in his favour.

[2] *Life*, ii. 34, n. 1. The account of the conversation with the King is on pp. 33-42.

[3] 'One of the most remarkable incidents of Johnson's life, which gratified his monarchical enthusiasm, and which he loved to relate with all its circumstances, when requested by his friends' (*ibid.* ii. 33).

[4] Under the title: *A / Conversation / between / His Most Sacred Majesty / George III. / and / Samuel Johnson, LL.D. / Illustrated with Observations, / by James Boswell, Esq. / London: / Printed by Henry Baldwin; / for Charles Dilly, in the Poultry. / MDCCXC.*, quarto, corresponding to i. 291-296 of the first edition of the *Life*. Both this and the off-printed Chesterfield letter are rare items. Professor Pottle, writing in 1929, knew only of copies in the British Museum, the Bodleian and the then Adam Collection (F. A. Pottle, *The Literary Career of James Boswell, Esq.*, pp. 136, 137). To these may be added the copies, one of the *Conversation*, one of the *Letter*, bound at the end of vol. 2 of a first edition of the *Life* in the National Library of Scotland. Mr. W. Beattie, Keeper of Printed Books in that Library, has kindly provided photostats of both and informed me that the leaves of the *Conversation* measure $10\frac{5}{8}$ by $8\frac{5}{16}$ inches and were trimmed when the piece was bound in with this copy of the *Life*; there is no sign of 'stabbing', only sewing. Cf. the description of the British Museum copy in Pottle, *op. cit.*, p. 137. I take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to Mr. Beattie for his help on this point.

[5] See Pottle, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-6.

as Professor Pottle has convincingly argued,[1] 'was clearly to have the extracts technically on sale, but not to sell any copies'. Boswell, that is, wished to prevent other biographers from anticipating him by publishing their own descriptions of these two outstanding incidents and thus detracting from the interest of his forthcoming *Life*. He informs us that he took particular pains to obtain an authentic account of the royal interview, and as proof of this care sets out his sources in a footnote.[2] One of these, and the one which he describes at greatest length, was 'a minute, the original of which is among the papers of the late Sir James Caldwell, and a copy of which was most obligingly obtained for me from his son Sir John Caldwell, by Sir Francis Lumm'. This Minute is still among Caldwell's papers, which also contain, in a contemporary copy, the letter from Johnson which accompanied it when he sent it to Caldwell. The letter, it should be added, is not an entirely new discovery, for it was printed in 1886 by W. H. G. Bagshawe in his *The Bagshawes of Ford*,[3] but, no doubt owing to the fact that that work was intended for private circulation only, it seems to have escaped notice. Mr. Bagshawe was concerned with it only as showing that Caldwell and Johnson were known to each other and accordingly it was sufficient for his purpose simply to print its text in modernized spelling without comment. The survival of the Minute, which he had, of course, no occasion to print or discuss, although he knew of its existence, appears likewise to have gone unnoticed. Both letter and Minute deserve examination.

Johnson's Letter to Caldwell

The letter, which is printed below (pp. 231-2), is, as already stated, a copy, and a search through the Bagshawe Muniments for the original[4] has been unsuccessful. Nevertheless it is a contemporary copy and we can trace both its background and the copyist's name. Caldwell, a methodical man with an eye to his future reputation, was interested in the arrangement and

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 138. For his discussion of the whole problem see *ibid.* pp. 137-41.
[2] *Life*, ii. 34, n. 1; *Conversation*, p. [4], note. Henceforward references will be given only to the *Life*. [3] P. 317. [4] Cf. *infra*, p. 231, n. 5.

preservation of his papers, and to this end he not only had reference lists of them compiled but also, and particularly where some correspondent of note was concerned, had the letters and documents themselves transcribed in full and arranged chronologically.[1] Several hundreds of these copies have survived, written either by himself or at his instigation, and among them is the Johnson letter. It is entered in one of his Letter Books, now bound in six volumes and numbered B 3/10, entitled *Letters Wrote to and from Sir James Caldwell.* These volumes contain copies made by various of his amanuenses, but mainly by Patrick and James Maguire, of 373 letters and papers sent and received between 1 May 1759 and 23 December 1772, the whole preceded by a note informing us that 'These Copies are wrote fair and Bound up in a Volume. The Originals[2] are tyed up Each year in a Bundle and the Number of Each Copy and its date refers [*sic*] to the Original, which follows [*sic*] Each other;' that is, the originals were arranged chronologically and then numbered consecutively from 1 to 373 and the copies were given the same order and numbers. Immediately following this note is a list of the letters copied, in which the number and page of each letter are given, the names of the correspondents and, sometimes, an indication of the contents. 'Letter 213, Page 691' is described as 'Feb.^{y} 12, 1767. Doctor Sam^{l}. Johnson to Sir Ja^{s}. Caldwell, to w^{ch}. is annexed his Conversation with the King.' Fortunately this portion of the Letter Book has survived and we find there a full copy of the letter (pp. 691-2) and the

[1] In a draft letter to Skelton, which may be dated 17 April 1778, he mentions 'four Hundred Letters which I have caused to be Copied and bound up, as I think they do credit to my Publick and what I much more prize to my Private Character', and which in certain circumstances 'I intend publishing' (B 3/17/75). It should be added that there is evidence that these are not the letters in B 3/10 mentioned below.

[2] Many of these originals are no longer in the present collection (cf. *supra*, p. 212, n. 1). Extensive as the Caldwell papers still are—they total some 4,000 items—there are several gaps. Numerous items were destroyed last century and we owe the preservation of those which have survived here entirely to the untiring efforts of the late W. H. G. Bagshawe, who acquired the bulk of them from the owner shortly before Castle Caldwell was sold in 1877; from that time until his death in 1913 Mr. Bagshawe made constant enquiries in the family and its various branches in the hope of making the collection more complete.

Minute (pp. 693-700).[1] Both are in a hand which can be identified as that of James Maguire,[2] who for many years acted as one of Caldwell's clerks. The exact date when the copies were made does not appear, but it was probably towards the end of Caldwell's life; he died, as did Johnson, in 1784. The original letter would probably have endorsed on it its number (' 213 ') in this particular series of his papers; this number is also endorsed on the Minute,[3] which, more fortunate than its companion, has survived.

Before printing the letter, it may be noted that there are references to it and to the Minute in three of the lists of Caldwell's papers mentioned above. The most interesting occurs in one which is entirely in his own hand and which, internal evidence suggests, was drawn up in the late 1770s.[4] He heads it: 'Letters and Origenal [*sic*] Transcripts which lie unfolded regularly over Each other in this Box. The Number in this List refers to the Number on the Letter.' Number ' 102 ' is 'Doctor Samuel Johnson to the same [i.e. to Caldwell], with a very Circumstantial Account of his Conversation with his Present Majesty, in which it appears that the King is very well informed in Literary Knowledge'. Presumably the number ' 102 ' also would be endorsed on the original letter; it is not, however, on the Minute. This list is an expansion of an earlier one,[5] written in a more formal hand, in which this particular item again figures as ' 102 ', being described as 'Doctor Samuel Johnston to Sir James Caldwell, giving a very Particular and Circumstantial Account of a tete a tete Conversation he had with the King on political and literary Subjects, in which the King shewed a great deal of Knowledge'. Finally, a folio volume,[6]

[1] For the Minute *vide infra*, pp. 235 *sqq.*

[2] To give him his full description, 'James Maguire of Belleck [co. Fermanagh], land surveyor' (B 3/24/38, a legal document of 10 Feb. 1774). There are 16 holograph letters of Maguire available for comparison in the Bagshawe Muniments (B 3/20/260-75). Among the other items which he entered in this Letter Book for 1767 are copies of four letters of Hawkesworth (B 3/10/209, 228, 229, and 234).

[3] *Vide infra*, p. 238. In fact, by a slip the Minute was incorrectly endorsed 'No. 216'. W. H. G. Bagshawe, who also noticed the error, has made the correction to 'No. 213'.

[4] B 3/27/5. [5] B 3/27/4. [6] B 3/27/7.

now broken and imperfect, which contains miscellaneous accounts (*c.* 1768-82) and various catalogues (leases, letters, music, plans and papers) has, on fol. 12, a list headed 'Curious Papers, Poems, etc.' in which 'Bundle the 5th, No. 19' is 'A Conversation between the King and D^r^. Johnston'; the letter is not mentioned separately.[1] This number, like the one mentioned previously, is also written on the Minute. Thus, the Minute has two numbers endorsed on it—'19' and '216' (*rectius* '213')[2]—and the missing original of the letter may also have had at least two[3]—'102' and '213'—corresponding to their positions in Caldwell's various lists.[4]

The letter, then, is printed here from the copy[5] entered in Caldwell's Letter Book in 1767/84 by his clerk James Maguire, who heads it, 'Doctor Samuel Johnson to Sir Ja^s^. Caldwell. Feb^y^. 12th, 1767':—

'Dear Sir James,

Our friend Doctor Hawkesworth acquaints me that you are very desireous to see a Paper reciting a Conversation with which his Majesty was pleased to honour me last Tuesday[6] in his Library. The moment I left the King's presence I put it down in writing as nearly as I could recollect and send you a Copy of it inclosed.

The King's information of what is going on in the literay [*sic*] as well as Political world is much more Extensive than is Generally imagined.

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[1] Ten bundles of letters and copies are listed, each containing 50 items. The bundles are described out of numerical order (Nos. 2, 12, 36, 3, etc.). The Johnson letter may have been either in a bundle not described here or, perhaps, kept with the 'Conversation' in Bundle 5, No. 19. In the latter case it would presumably, like the Minute, have been endorsed '(19)'.

[2] *Vide infra*, p. 238. [3] Cf. *supra*, n. 1.

[4] Although these lists are useful guides to letters and papers which have not survived here, they do not by any means provide a complete check on his correspondence. No other Johnson reference has been found in them, but there has survived in this collection what purports to be an *Extract of a Letter from D^r^. Johnson at Buxton to a Friend in Scotland* (B 3/26/2, four pages). It is subscribed 'Hon^ble^. M^r^. T. Erskine Scrip^t^.', and reads like a parody of Johnson's style.

[5] B 3/10/213, p. 691. A copy, made from Maguire's copy last century by W. H. G. Bagshawe, is now B 3/26/1a; it was from this, in which Mr. Bagshawe had modernized the spelling, that the letter was printed in *The Bagshawes of Ford*, p. 317. That he had to draw on Maguire suggests that he also was unable to find the original.

[6] 10 February. The exact date is not given by Boswell.

I have read with pleasure what you have Wrote to honest George[1] in favour of poor M^{rs}. Williams's Subscription[2] and shall return it to you with a little Amendation. You have taken the Hints I gave you and Illucidated and enforced them with great ability. You know I never flatter. I am, my dear Sir, affectionately yours,

Samuel Johnson.

Don't forget the party we made to Dine at the Mitre next Tuesday. I have Engaged Hool,[3] the Translator of Taso [*sic*], to be with us. Do not engage yourself and you and I will Drink Tea with M^{rs}. Williams and regale her with your Letter to Faulkner. I am in bed and I got Davis[4] to write this. I hope it will overtake you before you go to Bromley.[5]'

This letter is, of course, twice removed from Johnson; not merely is it a copy, but the original from which it was made was in the hand of 'Davis'. Thus, the capitals and unusual spellings, which are reproduced faithfully above, may be due either to 'Davis' or Maguire. Similarly with the full Christian name 'Samuel' in the signature instead of Johnson's normal 'Sam:'. How 'Davis' treated his spelling and capitals we do not know, but there is ample evidence concerning Maguire, for in several cases we have available for comparison the actual documents from which he made other copies contained in this same Letter Book—among them, of course, being the Minute. The result of such a comparison is hardly surprising. In his copying Maguire varies a great deal. Some letters are accurately transcribed; in others there are dropped words and, where the writing of his exemplar is poor, misreadings.[6] He may at any time substitute his own spelling for that of his original[7]

[1] The Dublin bookseller George Faulkner (d. 1775). See further *supra*, p. 224 and *infra*, pp. 234-5.

[2] Mrs. Williams's collection of *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* had been published in 1766. See further *infra*, p. 234.

[3] Hoole's translation of the *Jerusalem Delivered* of Tasso had appeared in 1763.

[4] *Vide infra*, pp. 233-4, 241-2.

[5] For Caldwell's connection with Bromley *vide supra*, p. 221.

[6] E.g. in B 3/10/216 (his copy of 3/16/95) he has 'relogs' for 'relays', 'bopeep [*sic*] Publicum' for 'bonum Publicum' and 'do come to doubt' for 'do come to Lowth'. This is perhaps an extreme instance, but in 3/10/275 (his copy of 3/17/23) he has 'to Nilitate [*sic*] her service' for 'to militate in her service' and 'Encouragements' for 'engagements', while in 3/10/229 (his copy of 3/16/134) he reads 'prevent' for 'preserve'. Other examples could be given.

[7] E.g. 'Publick', B 3/10/216 ('Public', 3/16/95); 'Melancholly', 3/10/273 ('melancholy', 3/16/96); 'forcibly', 3/10/216 ('forceably', 3/16/95); 'Steevins', 3/10/312 (Stephens', 3/16/222); 'Extream', 3/10/309 ('Extreme', 3/16/240).

and he uses capitals indiscriminately.[1] He is also fond of expanding abbreviations where he understands them. This last point may be most conveniently illustrated by checking, for example, the text of the Minute against his copy of it.[2] The former's 'K.', 'D^{r}.' and 'J.', to give only three examples, he invariably writes out in full as 'King', 'Doctor', and 'Johnson'.[3] Similarly with the opening and closing formulae of letters: 'y^{r}.', 'y^{rs}.', 'd^{r}.' and 'obed^{t}.' he tends to copy as 'your', 'yours', 'dear' and 'obedient'.[4] Many other instances could be given. It may well be that if his exemplar had the signature 'Sam: Johnson', Maguire would expand it to 'Samuel Johnson' as, for example, he expands 'Jn^{o} Hawkesworth'[5] in a similar position to 'John Hawkesworth'. Spellings such as 'Amendation' or 'Illucidated', which incidentally are not found in that form in Johnson's own *Dictionary*[6] may be Maguire's also, although possible idiosyncrasies of 'Davis' cannot be ignored throughout. It has unfortunately not been possible to identify 'Davis'. The name is not uncommon and in the circumstances we can not be sure of the spelling. Possibilities are the bookseller Tom Davies[7] and the Mrs. Davis 'that was about Mrs. Williams';[8] there are difficulties with

[1] Cf. for example B 3/15/4 and 3/10/219; 3/16/134 and 3/10/229; 3/17/49 and 3/10/220. Many instances occur throughout his copies.

[2] The Minute is printed below, pp. 235-8. His copy is in B 3/10/213 (pp. 693-700) immediately following the letter.

[3] He also has 'Doctor Johnson' for the Minute's 'Mr. J.', 'Doctor Hill' for 'Dr. H.', 'Review', for 'Rev.'.

[4] E.g. 'Ever y^{rs} my D^{r}. Count' (B 3/16/95) becomes 'Ever yours my Dear Count' (3/10/216); 'D^{r}. S^{r}.' (3/16/134) becomes 'Dear Sir' (3/10/229) and 'y^{r}. most Obed^{t}.' (3/15/133) becomes 'Your most Obedient' (3/10/274).

[5] In B 3/10/311, copying an original Hawkesworth letter B 3/16/137. Hawkesworth normally signs his Christian name 'Jn^{o}'. Other examples occur.

[6] Although there are instances in the *Letters* of Johnson's use of words not given in his *Dictionary*.

[7] Who appears to be referred to under the spelling 'Davis' in a Johnson letter of 1782 (*Letters*, no. 791). But *vide infra*, pp. 241-2.

[8] Johnson to Francis Barber, 16 September 1783: 'As Thursday is my birthday, I would have a little dinner got, and would have you invite Mrs. Desmoulins, Mrs. Davis that was about Mrs. Williams, and Mr. Allen and Mrs. Gardiner' (*Letters*, no. 881). Birkbeck Hill suggests that she is the Mrs. Davis who was at Bolt Court the day before Johnson's death.

both [1] and it is apparently not known whether the latter was even associated with Johnson at this date. But whoever 'Davis' may have been, this is not the first or the only instance of Johnson dictating while lying in bed.

Of the other persons mentioned in the letter, Caldwell's relations with Hawkesworth have already been indicated. Nothing seems to be known of his relations with Hoole, although the fact that the latter has to be described as 'the Translator of Tasso' may possibly imply that they were not very close. Hoole's friendship with Johnson is well known and it is hardly surprising to find another reference to them dining together. References, however, to dining at the Mitre are not common in Johnson's letters nor are invitations to drink tea with Mrs. Williams. Caldwell probably owed his own invitation to the fact that he was assisting with the sale of her *Miscellanies* and on this point his papers provide a little more information. If, as would seem likely, his letter to George Faulkner on her behalf was written in 1767, it has not so far come to light bearing that date among the surviving drafts and copies of his correspondence. But in this same Letter Book [2] there has been entered a copy of a letter dated 'London, April the 7th, 1766', addressed 'To G. F. Esquire', strongly recommending 'a little Book Intitled Miscellanies in Prose and Verse by Anna Williams', described as 'lately Published here by Subscription'; it is followed by copies of Johnson's *Proposals* [3] for printing the work and by the *Petition* in verse concerning the same. Whether this is the letter mentioned by Johnson, assigned to the wrong year by Caldwell's amanuensis, or whether it is in fact an earlier one, it reads like a first recommendation of the *Miscellanies* to Faulkner. [4] In either case it provides other evidence of Caldwell's connection with this affair. Caldwell and Faulkner were well known to each other—the latter was a

[1] *Vide infra*, pp. 241-2. [2] B 3/10/601.

[3] Printed in his *Works*, v. 354.

[4] It refers to the contents of the volume as though he were not acquainted with them. This letter is also listed in one of Caldwell's inventories, B 3/27/8 (devoted to a list of his own writings), where, as item 34, it is described as 'A Lre. to G. F. Esq^{r}. recommending a Book of Poems lately Published by Subscription for the Benefit of a Blind Lady'.

Dubliner—and apart from Johnson's reference and the letter of 1763 mentioned above[1] in a different connection, there are other indications among these papers of their association.[2]

The Caldwell Minute

The Minute, which is discussed below, is written on a double leaf of paper[3] in a hand so far unidentified;[4] the copy which Maguire entered in Caldwell's Letter Book[5] was made from it and, as indicated above, there are other references to it among Caldwell's papers. The text is as follows :—

'The[6] King came in and after having ~~walked by Mr. Johns~~ talked for some time to the other persons in the Library, turned to Dr. Johnson and asked him if he were not lately come from Oxford. Dr. J. answered that he was, upon which the K. again asked ~~how~~ him if he were not fond of ~~Oxford~~ going to Oxford to which he replied that he was indeed fond of going to Oxford but was likewise glad to come back again.

The[7] King then asked him if he were writing anything at present to which he made answer that ^he was not for^ he had pretty well told the world what he knew, and

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[1] For the letter of 1763 *vide supra*, p. 224.

[2] In a letter to Lord Newtown in February 1761 Caldwell mentions that he had sent a copy of one of his pamphlets 'over to George Faulkner the Printer, four posts before it was published here' (B 3/10/49). More interesting, in January 1762, Faulkner writes from Dublin that he has 'published M:Naughtin's Life with great reputation and success . . . I wish I had the liberty of telling your name for the Author; but that I shall not do without your consent, as I would not offend you in any shape' (3/10/86). One of Faulkner's bills has survived also (B 3/28/22, settled 6 July 1761) in which Caldwell is shown as having purchased from him paper, pens, ink and books. Among the books are Johnson's *Dictionary* (two copies, one purchased 19 Nov. 1759, the other 31 Jan. 1761) and Hawkesworth's *Almoran and Hamet;* in addition Caldwell paid him for certain advertising and for engraving his arms.

[3] The water-mark is a suspended horn within a crowned shield beneath which are the letters 'LVG' and, under these, 'W'. Paper with this mark and the name or initials of the Dutch maker L.V. Gerrevink below is common in England at this time. Examples may be seen among Johnson's correspondence, and although one has not so far been found with the additional 'W', others of the many variants which follow this well-known maker's initials occur. Mrs. Mary C. Hyde has kindly examined her Johnson letters for me in this connection.

[4] *Vide infra*, pp. 241-2. [5] B 3/10/213, pp. 693-700.

[6] B 3/26/1. Unless otherwise stated all emendations, which, together with punctuation and capitals, are faithfully reproduced, are by the original writer.

[7] A cross has been placed at the side of paragraphs 2 and 3 and the latter paragraph has been ringed, indicating that the order should be reversed. These markings are in a darker ink and were made by a different pen.

~~that he~~ must now go and read for more. I do not think Dr. J. replied the King that you borrow from any one, upon which Dr. J. observed that he thought he had pretty well done his Share. I should think so too Dr. J. said the K. if you had not done so well.

The K. then proceeded to ask him what they were doing at Oxford. Upon which Mr. J. told him that ~~they~~ he could not indeed much commend their diligence but that in some respects they were mended for ~~that~~ they had put
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their under better regulations, and were at this time printing Polybius. He was then asked whether they had better Libraries at Oxford or Cambridge, to this he replied that he believed the Boldleian [1] was larger, ~~at the same time observing~~ than any they had at Cambridge, but at the same time added that he hoped ~~wheth~~ whether we had more books or not, that we should make as good use of them as they did. He was then asked whether All Souls or Christ Church Library were the larger, to which he [f.1v.] replied that All Souls Library was the largest we had except the Bodleian, Aye said the K. that is the Publick Library.

The K. then told him that he thought he must have read a vast deal. Dr. J. replied that he had thought more than he had read, that he had not indeed neglected reading, but having very early in life fallen into ill health he had not been able to read much compared with those who [2] had, for instance he said he had not read much compared with Dr. Warburton. Upon which the K. said that he had heard Dr. W. was a man of very general knowledge, and that you could scarce talk with him on any subject upon which he was not qualified to speak. The K. then asked him what he thought of the Controversy between Dr. W. and Dr. L.[3] To this he replied that he thought Dr. L. called names rather better than Dr. W. You do not think then said the King Dr. J. that there was much argument in the Case. He said he did not think there was. Why true said the K. when once it comes to calling names ~~all~~[4] argument is pretty well ~~over~~ at an end. He then asked him what he thought of Lord Lyttelton's book just published. He said he thought his Style might be pretty good [but that he had blamed Rich 3. ~~by wholesale~~ rather too much].[5] Why says ye K. they seldom do these things by halves. No Sir said

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[1] *Sic.* [2] Written over 'that'. [3] Lowth, Bishop of London.

[4] This cancellation is in a darker ink and by a different pen.

[5] The square brackets enclosing 'but . . . much' are in the original hand, perhaps to indicate doubt concerning these words and as a preliminary to cancelling them. For the reference to Lyttelton and his book is confused. Firstly, the work is described as 'just published', whereas other evidence suggests rather June as the date of publication (see R. M. Davis, *The Good Lord Lyttelton*, p. 332); 'published' is, of course, often used loosely and copies would be in existence before the formal publication date. The circumstances of its printing were such as might cause confusion (see Davis, *op. cit.*, chap 5). Johnson himself draws attention to them in his essay on Lyttelton (*Lives of the English Poets*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, iii. 453): 'The story of this publication is remarkable. The whole work was printed twice over, a great part of it three times, and many sheets four or five times . . . the charges and repeated operations of the press . . . cost [the author] at least a thousand pounds'; he there places the first appearance of the work in 1764, a date now generally doubted, although his statement that printing had started in 1755 is accepted (Davis, *op. cit.*,

he not to Kings. But fearing that he might be misunderstood he ~~the~~ proceeded to explain himself and immediately subjoined that for those who spoke worse of Kings than they deserved he could offer no excuse, but that he could easily conceive ~~how~~ how [f. 2] some might speak better of them than they deserved ~~th~~ without any ill intention, for as Kings had much in their power to give, those who were much obliged to them would frequently from Gratitude exaggerate their praises, and as this proceeded from a good motive it was certainly excuseable[1] as far as error could be excusable. He then asked what he thought of Dr. Hill, when he told him that ~~he thought~~ he was an ingenious man but had no veracity, and immediately produced as an instance of it that assertion of Dr. Hill's viz. that he had seen things magnified to a much greater degree by ~~looki~~ using 3 or 4 microscopes at a time, now said he every one who has seen a microscope knows that the more he looks thro' the less he will see.[2] Why replied the K. this is not only telling a falsehood but telling it clumsily for if this be the case, every one who can look through a microscope will be able to detect him. Dr. J. then proceeded to tell the K.[3] that Dr. H. was notwithstanding a very curious observer and if he would have been contented to tell the world no more than he knew, he might have ~~made~~ cut[4] a very considerable figure in the world, ~~with~~ and needed not to have recourse to such mean expedients to raise his reputation. They then began to speak of Literary Journals the nature and use of which Dr. J. explained, and at the same time gave some account of the principal writers on that subject, he told who first begun the Journal des Scavans [5] and said that it had been well written for many years, upon which the King asked if it were

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p. 329; see also *Life*, iii. 32). Secondly, and this may account for the square brackets, the work did not concern Richard III but was a 'History of the Life of Henry the Second'. When Boswell came to use the Minute for his *Life*, he noted this and made the necessary alteration, but not before he had first copied out the incorrect 'Richard the Third' (*vide infra*, p. 246). His awareness of the discrepancy is also shown by the fact that he first tried to associate the passage with Walpole's *Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of Richard III*, but no doubt remembering that the *Historic Doubts* did not appear until the following year—apart from the date of the conversation, the Minute is endorsed by Caldwell as having been received by him in August 1767—and that, far from having 'blamed Rich 3. rather too much', it was written with the deliberate intention of vindicating him, he struck through the whole passage (*vide infra*, p. 247, n. 1) and decided to keep to the text of the Minute, apart from making the alteration to 'Henry the Second' just mentioned. He also copied out the words 'Lord Lyttelton's book just published'; in fact, to allow for the passage of time, he emended to 'which was then just published', and altered 'book' to 'History' (*vide infra*, p. 246).

[1] *Sic.*

[2] Johnson's critical remarks on Hill's assertion seem to have been unfounded. Hill, an expert on the microscope, had referred not to the use of several microscopes but to the lenses combined in the compound microscope. See Clark Emery, 'Dr. Johnson and Dr. Hill', ap. *Modern Language Notes*, lxiv (1949), pp. 15–18 and the references there.

[3] 'the K' written over 'him'.

[4] This substitution is in a darker ink and 'cut' may be in Johnson's hand.

[5] Altered to 'Savans' by W. H. G. Bagshawe.

well written [f. 2v.] now ? he said he had no reason to think that it was. The K.
[were][2]
then asked him the character of our[1] two Reviews and whether there ^ any other literary Journals now published in ~~England~~ this Kingdom, he said there were no
Critical
Literary Journals beside these, and that of these two the ~~Monthly~~ was written with
that
the least care and the Monthly on the worst principles.[3] For the authors of the
this
monthly Rev. were enemies to the Church, ~~which~~ the K. said he was sorry to hear. The Conversation next turned on the Philosophical Transactions when Mr.[4] J.
had
observed that they ~~had~~ now a better method of sorting their materials, Aye said
For
the K. they are obliged to Dr. J. for that. ~~This Circumstance~~ his Majesty had heard and remembered this Circumstance which Dr. J. had himself forgot.[5] This was I bllieve[6] all ~~the Conversation~~ that passed between them, for about this time ~~the Princess Dowager came in and put an~~ a visit from the Princess Dowager put an end to the Conversation.

[*Endorsed* :] 12 Feb.y (19)[7] 1767
Conversation between
the King & Dr. Johnson.
Rcd. the 22d of August[8] 1767.
No. 216[9]

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[1] Altered from ' of '. [2] ' were ' supplied by W. H. G. Bagshawe.

[3] Nine years later, dining at Mr. Thrale's, Johnson ' mentioned what had passed upon the subject of the Monthly and Critical Reviews, in the conversation with which his Majesty had honoured him [and] expatiated a little more on them ' (see *Life*, iii. 32). [4] Altered to ' Dr.' by W. H. G. Bagshawe.

[5] Altered from ' forget '. [6] *Sic.* [7] For this number *vide supra*, p. 231.

[8] ' August ' is written over another word, which is either abbreviated or uncompleted ; more than this can not be distinguished. The words ' Rcd. the 22d of August 1767 ' are in Caldwell's hand. Why he should not have received it until that date can only be conjectured. It may be that the arrangements mentioned in the accompanying letter fell through (he was concerned in a law case at this very time, see B 3/14/91-95, 120) and that he was away until then. His frequent journeyings between Ireland and England may also have had a bearing on the matter. There is insufficient evidence to trace his movements in detail at this time, but in the middle of January he was in Dublin (B 3/16/133) on 11 April and 23 May he was at Castle Caldwell (B 3/14/93-94) and by 2 September back in London again (B 3/15/85). Frequently a month elapsed between the date of writing and the date of his receipt of a letter (e.g. B 3/15/70, 3/20/321) and, at least on one occasion, three months (B 3/20/336) ; Hawkesworth complains in February 1758 of a two months ' delay (B 3/10/575). In October 1767 Johnson explains to William Drummond that he has only just seen his letter ' after an absence of near six months ' in the country (*Life*, ii. 30).

[9] Corrected by W. H. G. Bagshawe to ' No. 213 ' (*vide supra*, p. 230). He also adds, in red ink, ' N.B. This is the original paper sent by Dr. Johnson '.

According to the covering letter, as soon as Johnson left the royal presence he wrote down an account of what had happened and the Minute is the 'Copy' of this which he sent to Caldwell. Perhaps this word should not be taken too literally here, for not only does the Minute lack the smoothness of a copy, it also contains, in the original hand, emendations which do not seem typical of one. For example, the opening sentence: 'The King came in and after having ~~walked by Mr. Johns~~ talked for some time to the other persons in the Library, turned to Dr. Johnson'; a superficial similarity between Johnson's initial 't' and 'w' might lead to a misreading of 'talked' but would hardly account for the rest. In the third paragraph: 'He was then asked whether they had better Libraries at Oxford or Cambridge, to this he replied that he believed the Boldleian [sic] was larger, ~~at the same time observing~~ than any they had at Cambridge, but at the same time added'; the attraction of the words 'at the same time' a little lower down could in part account for this, but would not explain why a copyist should introduce 'observing'. Again, in the fourth paragraph: 'He said he thought his Style might be pretty good but that he had blamed Rich 3. ~~by wholesale~~ rather too much' (ll. 36-38); this can not be due to any attraction of similarities, for 'wholesale' does not occur elsewhere. But perhaps the most striking alteration is in the concluding sentence: 'for about this time ~~the Princess Dowager came in and put an~~ a visit from the Princess Dowager put an end to the Conversation'. It is difficult to see how the necessity for emendations of this kind could arise in straightforward copying. They have the appearance not so much of corrected misreadings as of second thoughts—the second thoughts which might come, for example, to a person dictating. In this respect the rewording in the first and last of these examples is not without interest, for it will be noticed that in both cases it saves Johnson's dignity by removing the possible implications that the King *deliberately* walked by him or that the Princess Dowager *deliberately* put an end to the conversation. Some half-dozen other, minor, emendations which do not favour copying also occur: '~~they~~ he' (l. 14); 'pretty well ~~over~~ at an end' (l. 35); '~~the~~ [for 'then'] proceeded' (l. 39); '~~looki~~ using' (l. 49); '~~with~~ [an

uncompleted "without"] and needed not' (l. 56); '~~England~~ this Kingdom' (l. 63), 'For' substituted for 'This Circumstance' (l. 69). These alone would suggest either a copyist who was constantly making incorrect guesses at what followed in his exemplar and as constantly correcting himself, or, as seems more probable, someone who was being prompted as he was writing. If the above emendations have the appearance of second thoughts during a dictation, others suggest the kind of improvement that might be made on a re-reading afterwards. For example, certain of the interlineations. One would expect a copyist's interlineations to make good the sense he had spoiled by misreadings or omissions, and there is certainly one instance of this nature,[1] and possibly two.[2] But other interlineations can not be explained on these grounds, such as the substitution of 'this' for 'which' in l. 66, or, in no less than three cases, the addition of several words which are not required to complete the sense.[3] These have the appearance of intended improvements and as they are in the original hand, which is not Johnson's, they could be due to his prompting, as could the striking out of a few unnecessary repetitions,[4] also no doubt with a view to improvement. Johnson, in fact, may have contributed directly, for in addition to the alterations in the hand of the original writer, who uses a light-brown ink, there are three markings and a substituted word made in dark-brown ink and by a different type of pen; namely, two crosses to indicate that the order of the second and third paragraphs should be reversed,[5] the cancelling of a redundant word,[6] and the substitution of 'cut' for 'made'.[7] The darker ink, it may be noted, matches in colour that favoured by Johnson and the word 'cut' may be in his hand; these points are, of course, too slight to be more than ancillary. The relapse into 'we'[8] during the discussion on Oxford Libraries is also worth noting, as Johnson was at Pembroke. But before

[1] 'Press', l. 16. [2] 'Critical', l. 64.

[3] 'he was not for', l. 8; 'as an instance of it', l. 48; 'seen things', l. 48.

[4] 'that he', l. 9; 'that', l. 15; 'he thought', l. 47.

[5] *Vide supra*, p. 235, n. 7. This revised order is followed by Boswell, but it was made before he saw the Minute, for it is also followed by Maguire (B 3/10/213, pp. 693, 694).

[6] l. 35. [7] l. 55. [8] ll. 20, 22.

the suggestion of dictation can be accepted, there remains the problem of the opening words of the last sentence: 'This was I bllieve [*sic*] all that passed between them'[1] It may be that the intrusion of 'I' is, like the 'we' just mentioned, simply a relapse from the formal third person which is otherwise used throughout. If not, it stands in contradiction to all that we know, or would expect, of this Minute. The formality itself is not against the suggestion of dictation; on the contrary, for the Minute was written as the result of a request and Johnson would know quite well that Caldwell would show it to others. There is indeed evidence of this interest in the Minute in the form of at least two known copies to which it gave rise; the one which Boswell procured, which has survived in the body of a document at Yale,[2] and one which is now in the possession of Dr. S. C. Roberts.[3] Others must have been made and may yet come to light. If the contents of the Minute were in fact dictated by Johnson, it would be reasonable to assume that it was written by the same 'Davis' to whom he dictated the letter which accompanied it—that the accompanying letter was dictated should not be forgotten in considering the Minute—and in that case we should know that 'Davis' was not the same person as his old friend Tom Davies, the bookseller, for examples of the

[1] l. 71.

[2] *Vide infra*, pp. 242, n. 2, 243 *sqq.*

[3] I am indebted to Dr. Roberts for his generous loan of this document and to Mrs. Mary C. Hyde for kindly drawing my attention to it. Dr. Roberts's Minute presents a smooth, unbroken text written in a neat, clear hand on a double leaf of paper bearing the Britannia water-mark. Although it differs in form, being arranged as a dialogue between 'K.' and 'J.', comparison leaves little doubt that, save for 14 lines out of the 99 it contains, it goes back to the Caldwell Minute. The 14 are accounted for by (*a*) an additional sentence at the end (ll. 96-99) reading, 'D^r. Johnson in reciting the above, observed, that he found his Majesty extremely Conversant both in the Characters of Men and Books, and that he discovered no inconsiderable share of general Knowledge'; (*b*) a reference to Walpole (l. 45), who is confused with Lyttelton; (*c*) Johnson's remarks on historians and Kings (ll. 49-57), which show, however, verbal differences only. A Walpole reference and Johnson's remarks with just these differences occur, interestingly enough, in an account which Boswell obtained from Strahan and originally intended using for this passage but discarded in favour of the corresponding passage in the Caldwell Minute (*vide infra*, p. 247, n. 1). In Dr. Roberts's Minute the endorsement, which is in the same hand as the rest, incorrectly describes Johnson's meeting with the King as having been 'by Accident in S^t. James's Library'.

latter's writing are available for comparison.[1] Unfortunately no examples of the writing of the other immediate possibility, Mrs. Davis, seem to be known.

The Caldwell Minute is apparently the only one of Boswell's five sources for this incident which has survived and it is fortunate that it should prove to be the longest, providing him with more material than all the rest together. But in spite of its length, it does not add any new information to that already known ; Boswell's own interest in the royal interview was such that it would be surprising if it did. Its value consists rather in this : that it enables us, firstly, to follow through its various stages the evolution of the major portion of a passage which he himself considered one of the most important in the *Life*, and at the same time test the accuracy with which he handled a written source, and, secondly, to analyse his whole account of the royal interview.

The main stages which may be recognized in considering Boswell's handling of this source are : the Minute itself ; the copy of it which, he informs us in the *Life*,[2] was obtained for him from Caldwell's son, Sir John, by Sir Francis Lumm ;[3]

[1] E.g., Rylands English MSS. 536/9 and 537/7.

[2] ii. 34 n. 1. He refers to it there specifically as 'a copy', contrasting it with the original. The wording in his *Journal* is rather looser : 'Then waited on Sir Francis Lumm [this was 1 March 1786], who had obligingly procured me from Sir John Caldwell a Minute of the conversation between the King and Dr. Johnson which was in the late Sir James Caldwell's repositories' (*Private Papers of James Boswell from Malahide Castle*, ed. G. Scott and F. A. Pottle, xvi. 173). But that it was a copy in the strict sense of the word is indicated by his *Paper apart* 320, now at Yale (for this document see the next note but one). Here (fos. 3-4), in compiling his account of his sources, he originally wrote : 'a Minute, the original of which is among the Papers of the late Sir James Caldwell and which was at the spontaneous request of M^{r}. Berkeley, Grandson of the Bishop of Cloyne, most obligingly obtained for me from his son Sir John Caldwell' etc. He then added 'a copy of' above the line between 'and' and 'which'. Incidentally, he also struck through the words 'at the . . . Cloyne', with the result that Mr. Berkeley's connection with the matter does not appear in the printed *Life*.

[3] There is evidence in the Bagshawe Muniments of the friendship between Lumm and Sir James Caldwell in the form of three letters from the former to the latter (B 3/16/216-18, all of 1779), two from Lady Lumm to the latter (B 3/16/219-20, both 1779) and a draft from Sir James to her (B 3/16/215). Caldwell was able to call on Lumm's good offices to have the King's attention drawn to certain of his tracts (B 3/16/218, 21 June 1779). A miniature of Lumm is preserved at Ford Hall.

his own holograph account of the whole incident put together ready for inclusion in the main manuscript of the *Life* and now preserved at Yale among his *Papers apart*;[1] his proofs; and, finally, the version which appears in the published *Life*. The differences between the third stage and the final version are negligible, so that we may concentrate on the first three. Of these the second is missing; but its loss is not serious for, as will appear from what follows, it was a fairly close copy of the Minute. It is, in short, only necessary to compare the Minute with the Yale manuscript in order to discover the relation of the original material to Boswell's finished work and to separate him from his source. For all his major modifications had already been introduced into the Yale manuscript, and introduced in such a way that they may clearly be picked out. His method, with one exception, referred to below, was simply to copy out the text of the Minute and then go over it making such verbal alterations as seemed to him to improve its effect; accordingly, in the Yale manuscript we see him actually at work on the text of the Minute, crossing out, interlineating, introducing *oratio recta*, changing his mind on various points, changing it again, and then perhaps deciding to retain the original wording after all. The exception is the passage dealing with literary journals,[2] where Boswell uses the same material as that provided by the Minute, but for the most part does not follow its wording; the reason for this departure is not clear, but it may, to some extent at least, be due to a desire not to cause

[1] The full reference to this document (cited here as *Paper apart* 320) is 'Private Papers of James Boswell, Yale University Library, MS. of *Life*, Paper apart, p. 320'. For the documents which Boswell designated 'Papers apart' see Scott and Pottle, *Private Papers*, vi. 59; they may briefly be described as elements which he 'wrote up' separately and which tend to deal with isolated incidents; this particular one, concerned with Johnson's conversation with the King, is marked for insertion in p. 320 of the main manuscript of the *Life*. I take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to the Editorial Committee of the Yale Editions of the Private Papers, who have generously allowed me to quote not only from their printed volumes but also from this manuscript item, and in particular to Mr. Herman W. Liebert, Research Assistant at Yale and a member of that Committee, who has answered my queries with unfailing kindness and courtesy.

[2] Minute, fos. 2-2v.; *Paper apart* 320, fos. 12-13. Corresponding to the paragraph beginning 'The King then talked' in *Life*, ii. 39.

offence.[1] His different treatment of this passage, however, only serves to emphasize his normal practice for, as far as the rest is concerned, whether his subsequent alterations are numerous or nil,[2] he always begins with the text of the Minute, not his own version of it or even a selection from it. It is indeed only necessary to ignore his alterations in the Yale manuscript in order to recover the text of the Minute, apart from a few insignificant differences which may be due to the intervention of the copy he used. The following examples, deliberately selected for the large number of alterations they contain, will perhaps make this clear :—

(1) *Caldwell Minute* (*supra*, p. 235, l. 7–p. 236, l. 12): 'The King then asked him
he was not for
if he were writing anything at present to which he made answer that‸he had pretty well told the world what he knew, and ~~that he~~ must now go and read for more. I do not think D^r. J. replied the King that you borrow from any one, upon which D^r. J. observed that he thought he had pretty well done his Share. I should think so too D^r. J. said the K. if you had not done so well.'

inquired then
Boswell, *Paper apart* 320, fol. 6: 'The King then‸~~asked him~~ if he was‸
writing any thing? ~~at present?~~ He answered He was not, for he had pretty
~~exhausted what little knowledge he had gathered~~ read to acquire more knowledge.
well told the World what he knew, and must now [go] [3] ~~and read for more.~~ The
~~that he did not~~ ~~Dr. Johnson~~
then stet stet stet
King ~~having~~‸said ~~I do not~~ think ~~you~~ borrow much from any body. Johnson
~~already contributed~~
~~I think~~ already ~~pretty well~~ part ~~an Author~~
said he thought he had‸done his‸~~share~~ as a writer. I should have thought
~~written my share~~
written
so too said the King if you had not‸~~done~~ so well'.

In the margin, for insertion between "King" *and* "~~having~~", he adds: "~~and by thus then~~ as it should seem ~~from a des~~ with a view to urge him to rely on his own stores as an original writer and to continue his labours."

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[1] Notice, for example, how, by a reversal, Boswell modifies Johnson's bluntness. In the Minute (fo. 2^v.) Johnson is reported as saying that 'the Critical was written with the least care and the Monthly on the worst principles'. In *Paper apart* 320, fol. 12 (and in the printed *Life*, ii. 40) this becomes 'the Monthly Review was done with most care, the Critical upon the best principles'.

[2] There are some 70 lines in *Paper apart* 320 in which Boswell, after following the Minute, makes no alterations at all, and many others in which he introduces only one or two minor changes.

[3] By a slip Boswell omits 'go'. It will be noticed that he follows the Minute as regards its interlineations and cancellations.

(2) *Caldwell Minute* (*supra*, p. 236, ll. 17-21): 'he replied that he believed the Boldleian [*sic*] was larger, ~~at the same time observing~~ than any they had at Cambridge, but at the same time added that he hoped ~~wheth~~ whether we had more books or not, that we should make as good use of them as they did.'

Boswell, *Paper apart* 320, fos. 5-6: 'He answered he beleived [*sic*] the
ing
Bodleian was larger than any they had at Cambridge ~~but~~ at the same time add~~ed~~
" I hope
^~~that he hoped~~ whether we have more books or not (than they have at Cambridge)
shall do '.
we ~~should~~ make as good use of them as they ~~did.~~

(3) *Caldwell Minute* (*supra*, p. 236, ll. 24-7): 'The K. then told him that he thought he must have read a vast deal. D^{r}. J. replied that he had thought more than he had read, that he had not indeed neglected reading, but having very early in life fallen into ill health he had not been able to read much compared with those who had.'

having observed supposed
Boswell, *Paper apart* 320, fos. 7-8: 'His Majesty^ ~~said~~ to him that he^ ~~thought~~
~~he had read~~
he must have read a great deal. Johnson answered that he thought more than he
~~read a great deal early in life but was soon attacked by sickness which stopped~~
read that he had not indeed neglected reading but having ~~very early in life~~ fallen
~~his career~~ ~~read little in comparison with Dr. Warburton~~ others
into ill health he had not been able to read much compared with^ ~~those who had.~~'

In the margin, to follow "reading", *he adds*: 'he had read a great deal in the earlier part of his life'.

(4) *Caldwell Minute* (*supra*, p. 237, ll. 47-51): 'he told him that ~~he thought~~
as an instance of it
he was an ingenious man but had no veracity, and immediately produced^ that
seen things
assertion of D^{r}. Hill's viz. that he had^ magnified to a much greater degree by ~~looki~~ using 3 or 4 microscopes at a time, now said he every one who has seen a microscope knows that the more he looks thro' the less he will see. Why replied the K. this is not only telling a falsehood but telling it clumsily'.

Boswell, *Paper apart* 320, fos. 10-11: 'Johnson answered that he was an
mentioned
ingenious man but had no veracity, and immediately^ ~~produced~~ as an instance
an objects
of it ~~that~~ assertion of D^{r}. Hill/ that he had seen^ ~~things~~ magnified to a much greater
than by using one
degree by using three or four microscopes at a time^ Now ~~said he~~ every one
(added Johnson) acquainted with of them
^~~who has seen a~~ microscopes knows that the more^ he looks through the less
the object will appear ~~an imposition of a very gross kind~~ untruth
^~~he will see.~~ Why replied the King this is not only telling an ~~falsehood~~ but telling it clumsily'.

Boswell adds 'n' *to the* 'a' *before* 'falsehood'.

(5) *Caldwell Minute* (*supra*, p. 236, ll. 35-8): 'He then asked him what he thought of Lord Lyttelton's book just published. He said he thought his Style

might be pretty good [but that he had blamed Rich 3. ~~by wholesale~~ rather too much.'

Boswell, *Paper apart* 320, fo. 8v: 'His Majesty then asked him what he thought
History which was then
of Lord Litteltons ~~Book~~ just published. Johnson said he thought his style
Henry the Second
pretty good but that he had blamed ~~Richard the Third~~ rather too much.'

Finally, the Minute assists us in analysing his whole account of the royal interview. His narrative, we are told in the *Life*,[1] was compiled from five sources: 'from Dr. Johnson's own detail to myself; from Mr. Langton, who was present when he gave an account of it to Dr. Joseph Warton, and several other friends, at Sir Joshua Reynolds's; from Mr. Barnard; from the copy of a letter written by the late Mr. Strahan the printer, to Bishop Warburton'; and from the Caldwell Minute. But although the names and number of Boswell's sources have been known, the extent to which he relied on each has not; nor does he even mention them all in the course of his narrative. But given the Minute we may by a process of elimination discover the rest, for, that removed, it can be seen that what remains contains for the most part its own indications of source in the form of words such as 'Johnson observed to me',[2] 'at Sir Joshua Reynolds's',[3] 'said Johnson to his friends',[4] 'he said to Mr. Barnard',[5] and 'he afterwards observed to Mr. Langton'.[6] Built into and around the Minute, his main source, and previously obscured by it, the passages dependent on these indications can now be clearly recognized. Together with the Minute they account for all his sources save one, Strahan's letter, and cover the whole of his account of the royal interview save ten lines. Of these ten, four[7] deal with the King's suggestion that Johnson should write the literary biography of this country; their origin is not clear, unless, like the passage immediately following, they are from Barnard. The remaining lines occur in the discussion concerning Warburton and Lowth[8] and it seems probable that these

[1] *Life*, ii. 34, n. 1.
[2] *Ibid.* ii. 35, l. 27.
[3] *Ibid.* ii. 35, l. 30; 41, l. 4; 42, l. 12.
[4] *Ibid.* ii. 39, l. 6.
[5] *Ibid.* ii. 40, ll. 21-22. The end of the Minute corresponds to l. 11 of this page.
[6] *Ibid.* ii. 40, l. 23.
[7] *Ibid.* ii. 40, ll. 12-15.
[8] Namely, 'and that his learning resembled Garrick's, acting, in its universality' (*ibid.* ii. 36, l. 11) . . . which he seemed to have read (37, l. 3) . . .

came from Strahan's letter to Warburton, which, apart from being a likely source, is also the only one not yet accounted for.

It may be noted in conclusion that Boswell originally intended to include more material from Strahan's letter. As his *Paper apart* 320 shows, his entire account of the discussion on historians and Kings was first taken from it.[1] But he changed his mind, struck it through and marked it 'see oppos[i]te', a reference to the verso[2] of the preceding leaf where, under the heading 'Caldwell', he copied out the corresponding passage from the Caldwell Minute[3] which replaces it both there and in the version he finally printed in the *Life*.

Johnson answered, 'Warburton has most general, most scholastick learning; Lowth is the more correct scholar. I do not know which of them calls names best'. The King was pleased to say he was of the same opinion; adding' (37, ll. 4-7).

[1] *Paper apart* 320, fos. 9-10, where, marked 'Strahan', is the following: 'His Majesty observed that Historians are in general very partial when they characterise Kings for they make them either very good or very bad. (This was introduced by speaking of M^{r}. Walpoles Historick Doubts: *these words have been added later by Boswell in a reserved space which they do not fill*). Johnson answered, Kings, Sir, are generally spoken of in extremes. I have indeed no excuse to make for those who speak worse of Kings than they deserve; but as Kings have it much in their power to confer happiness it is easy to account how they happen often to be praised to excess from the gratitude of those upon whom their favours have been conferred, and though it was an errour to depart from truth upon any occasion, yet as far as errour was allowable it was so in this instance.' The few alterations Boswell made to these lines before he cancelled the whole are not noted here as in this case his source is more relevant than his alterations. Dr. Roberts's Minute follows the wording of this passage (*vide supra*, p. 241, n. 3).

[2] Fo. 8^{v}.; copied from the Caldwell Minute, fos. lv.-2. Boswell makes very few emendations.

[3] This is the only occasion in the Yale manuscript in which he copies out alternative accounts of the same incident and in no other place there does he indicate his sources in this way ('Strahan', 'Caldwell').

SOME ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF THE LIVES OF THE SAINTS[1]

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THE honour paid to the saints of the Church is as old as the Church and it would be quite out of place to discuss it. Yet it is not without significance that the original *Latin Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs* has some claim to be the earliest consecutive piece of Christian Latin that has been preserved to us.[2] These records of torture and imprisonment stirred the early Church. The opening words of the Passion of St. Perpetua bear witness to this.[3] " If ancient examples of faith, both bearing witness to God's grace and teaching man, have been written down, that by their reading, as if by their showing forth, God may be honoured and man comforted; why should not modern and equally relevant documents be set forth ? " Small wonder then that they were written down and read for many centuries to come. The form of the books containing these records is of some interest and will be partially discussed here as it has some bearing on the problem.

In the later Middle Ages the lives of the saints provided edifying reading in three chief ways. First were the lections in the Breviary which were read on the saint's day at Matins in Church. Secondly, there was public reading at meal-times in the religious houses, and finally there must have been reading of a more private kind. One of the most popular collections of these lives is the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine composed in the second half of the thirteenth century, but many collections had been made previously in the form of *Passionale*, *Vitae Sanctorum* or the *Vitae Patrum*. In some religious houses there were collections of lives of saints connected with

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on Wednesday, the 12th of March, 1952.

[2] J. Armitage Robinson, *The Passion of St. Perpetua* (Texts and Studies, vol. I, no. 2), Cambridge (1891), p. vii.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 60.

the house, as for instance Cotton MS. Vespasian B. xx which is a collection of lives of saints connected with St. Augustine's, Canterbury.[1] In the fourteenth century we see the growth of lives of English saints in such collections as Lansdowne MS. 436, which has been described by Fr. Grosjean in his paper on the life of St. Robert of Newminster in *Analecta Bollandiana*.[2] This manuscript, which appears to have been made for Romsey Abbey, was written in the first part of the fourteenth century and contains forty-three lives of English saints in an abbreviated form. This manuscript was not written for official liturgical use, for it is in an elegant charter hand. It was written for non-official reading. By far the largest collection, however, is that made at St. Albans by John of Tynemouth which became the basis of Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliae*.[3] It is important to remember that these collections of lives present the text in an abbreviated form. They therefore are related to the breviary and lectionary lives which are also a good deal shortened.

If the lives of the saints are examined we see in the earliest documents, such as the *Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs*, an extraordinary brevity, in some cases amounting almost to obscurity. This state of affairs did not last for very long and during the first millennium there seems to have been a tendency for the biographies of the saints to grow longer and end up as full biographies, of which early examples are Sulpicius Severus' *Life of St. Martin of Tours* and Athanasius' *Life of St. Anthony Abbot*. From the eighth to the twelfth centuries these biographies increased and multiplied and must have been much influenced by the foundations of important monasteries situated on or near the site of the saint's resting place.

Certain manuscripts of these long biographies appear as small books, or *libelli*, which are entirely devoted to the saint, and besides the life and miracles contain also prayers, masses

[1] See *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library* (1802), p. 442.

[2] P. Grosjean, *Analecta Bollandiana*, lvi (1938), pp. 334-9. Another important English collection is the Codex Gothanus; see P. Grosjean, *Analecta Bollandiana*, lviii (1940), pp. 90-103.

[3] Edited by C. Horstmann, *Nova Legenda Angliae*, Oxford (1901), 2 vols.

and even the musical portions of the Office. They sometimes include monastic records. Such a book is B. M. Harley MS. 3908 which contains the *Life of St. Mildred* by Goscelin, which is followed by lessons to be read at Matins on the saint's day, responds and antiphons with music, sequence for the Mass and finally the story of her translation and miracles, with an account of her miracles and of the foundation of her monastery at Minster in Thanet. It seems likely that the *libellus sancte Mildburge* which Bishop Trillek borrowed from the monks of Much Wenlock in 1346 was of such a kind.[1] If the manuscripts containing single lives of saints are examined, it frequently happens that they are found to be smallish quartos, rather square, and are usually written in a good hand which frequently resembles the hand of the liturgical books. Two of the manuscripts containing the first, B, life of St. Dunstan, in Arras and St. Gall,[2] are books of this shape, size and writing, and the late tenth century manuscript of Eddi's life of Wilfred, now Cotton MS. Vespasian, D. vi, fos. 78-125, bound up with other material, was undoubtedly a book of this kind. If the manuscripts of the lives of the saints are examined it will be found that these forms survived until quite late in the Middle Ages. The unique manuscript now in the British Museum, Egerton MS. 3143, containing the life of St. Robert of Knaresborough, which was written late in the fourteenth century, is of this type, a small quarto ; but it is no longer written in a fine liturgical hand like the manuscripts of an earlier date ; it is in a vernacular hand with charter influences.[3]

During the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries a number of these *libelli* were written and were accompanied by long sets of pictures as well as elaborate initials. The history of the growth of cycles of illustrations of the lives of the saints has never been written, nor a list of manuscripts containing such cycles of pictures ever collected. It is clear that once

[1] See *Registrum Johannis de Trillek Episcopi Herefordensis*, ed. J. H. Parry (Canterbury and York Society, viii (1912), pp. 96, 97).

[2] B.H.L. 2342.

[3] See P. Grosjean, *Analecta Bollandiana*, lvii (1939), p. 364 ; also R. Flower, *British Museum Quarterly*, xii (1938), pp. 81, 82.

churches began to be decorated with series of pictures, it was only natural that the lives of the saints should be included as well; at any rate in the West. They must also have been inspired by the great cycles which were provided for the Old and New Testament which have certainly adorned churches since the fourth century. Such a series of Old Testament scenes, dating probably from the fifth century, decorate the nave of the church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome. With the growth of large churches on the sites of the burial places of the saints, it is most likely that the walls were decorated with scenes from the life of the patron. An early description of a series of scenes from the life of St. Euphemia exists by St. Asterius of Amasia. These scenes were painted on cloths which were placed near the martyrium of the saint at Chalcedon in Asia Minor, and they have been compared by Professor Grabar with certain scenes from the Passion of Our Lord.[1] This comparison between the martyrdom of a saint and the Passion of Christ persists and can be seen in some of the lives of the saints not only in pictorial form, but also in literature. In the English verse life of St. Thomas of Canterbury in the *South English Legendary*, there is a description of the saint's return to Canterbury shortly before his death.[2] In this description there is a direct comparison between Becket's return to Canterbury and the entry into Jerusalem. The pictorial influence of a series of Passion scenes on the life of a saint can be seen in the twelfth century manuscript of the Life of St. Edmund the Martyr, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York.[3] This manuscript, which was made for Bury St. Edmunds, contains a long series of pictures illustrating the life of the saint. As might be expected a number of the scenes

[1] A. Grabar, *Martyrium*, Paris (1946), ii, pp. 72, 73.

[2] Ase ore louerd a-palme-sonenday : honovred was i-nouȝ
þo he rod into Jerusalem : and toward is deþe drovȝ
Al-so was þis holi man : ase men miȝten i-seo þere ;
For ore louerd wolde þat is deth : semblable to his were.

See 'The Early South English Legendary', ed. Horstmann, *Early English Text Society* (1887), pp. 159, 160, vv. 1855-8.

[3] New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS. M. 736; see 'New Palaeographical Society', 1st series, Plates 113-15.

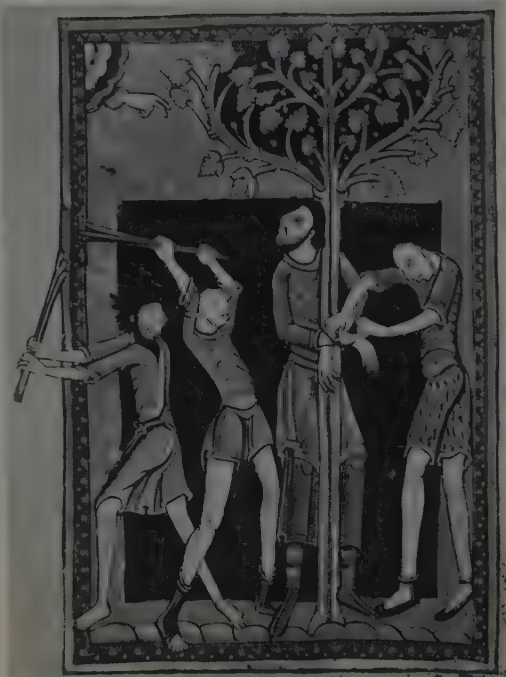
relate to the actual martyrdom of the saint by the Danes. There is one scene where he is scourged, having been tied to a tree, in which the iconography seems to be inspired by scenes of the Passion of Christ. A comparison has only to be made between this scene and the miniature of the Flagellation of Christ in the contemporary St. Alban's Psalter now at Hildesheim for this connection to become quite plain. (Plate.)

It is unfortunate that extremely little is known about any early series of scenes from the lives of saints in the West. As will be seen none actually exists before the ninth century either on the walls of churches or in objects or manuscripts. The best information to be obtained is from the *tituli* or verses which were often composed for placing with pictorial representations. Some have survived normally in collections of poetry. The earliest of these are concerned with the Old and New Testaments, as for instance the Dittochaeon of Prudentius, which dates from the second half of the fourth century. A fifth century set of *tituli* of the middle of the century were also composed for the church of St. Martin at Tours. Even more specific are the verses composed by Venantius Fortunatus. There we find the story of the cloak, healing of the leper and a number of other scenes.[1] An eleventh century life of St. Martin, still in the library at Tours, shows a number of scenes from his life.[2] These drawings may well be copied from earlier ones, but they do not entirely agree with the poem of Venantius Fortunatus.

These *tituli* in honour of a saint continued to be written during the Middle Ages, and may well be the origin of the verses which are so frequently found in conjunction with representations of the lives of the saints. In connection with this there may be mentioned the verses which are attached to the miniatures of the life of St. Quentin which we shall have occasion to notice later on. A series of *tituli* relating to St.

[1] See Julius von Schlosser, *Quellenbuch zur Kunstgeschichte des Abendländischen Mittelalters*, Vienna (1896), pp. 37-42.

[2] Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 1018; see E. K. Rand, *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours*, Medieval Academy of America, Cambridge, Mass. (1929), i, pp. 200, 201 (no. 225), Pl. cxciv, where two drawings are reproduced.



The Flagellation of St. Edmund.
New York, Pierpont Morgan Ms. 736, f. 26.

The Flagellation of Christ.
Hildesheim, Albani Psalter.

Wulfstan of Worcester have survived in a thirteenth century manuscript from Worcester, now in the National Library of Wales.[1] The late Robin Flower, who published the verses, showed that they were intimately related to a series of verses in some windows in the cloister at Worcester Cathedral Priory still existing in the sixteenth century. A series of verses may still be seen on the shrine of St. Hadelinus preserved at Visé in Belgium, made in the eleventh century, as well as on the more sumptuous shrine of St. Heribert of Cologne, both of which are decorated with scenes from the life of the saint.[2] The Worcester verses might well have been composed in connection with the translation of the saint in 1218.

From what has been said it will be seen that from the fourth century onwards there existed series of scenes from the lives of saints which were used to decorate the walls of the churches and objects connected with the saint. This state of affairs continued in the ninth century. The longest series which can definitely be assigned to the ninth century is the golden altar in the church of San Ambrogio at Milan which was made in Lombardy towards the middle of the century.[3] This object contains a number of scenes from the life of St. Ambrose and may well be based upon an older and longer series of pictures. Some ivories of the Carolingian period also exist, particularly a fine plaque, now at Amiens, with representations of the life of St. Remigius of Rheims.[4] What is surprising, however, about all these representations is that until the tenth century

[1] Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth MS. 386 (Hengwrt 362); see Robin Flower, 'A Metrical Life of St. Wulfstan of Worcester' in *The National Library of Wales Journal*, i (1940), pp. 119-30, particularly pp. 124-5.

[2] For the shrine of St. Hadelinus, see Comte J. de Borchgrave d'Altena, 'Notes au sujet de la Châsse de Saint Hadelin conservée à Visé, in *La Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, xx (1951), fasc. I, pp. 15-27.

[3] See Géza de Francovich, 'Arte Carolingia ed Ottoniana in Lombardia' in *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, vi (1942-44), pp. 182-221, with good illustrations. I wish to thank Dr. Otto Pächt for this reference.

[4] A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen . . . viii-xi Jahrhundert*, i, Berlin (1914), no. 57, Pl. xxiii. A scene from the life of St. Gall is to be found on a tenth century ivory still at St. Gall; see Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, no. 163*b*, Pl. lxxvi.

there are no illustrated *libelli* and as far as I am aware no record of any. It is easy to argue that the scenes which have been discussed were based upon book illustration, but there is not a scrap of evidence that they were. A few *libelli* of saints' lives survive from before the Carolingian period, some, like the manuscript of the life of St. Wandrille, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, must have been written in fine large uncials in the manner of a Gospel book, but there is little decoration in it and it certainly never contained any pictures.[1] The ninth century manuscript in Leningrad of the Visio Baronti cannot be included in the category of illustrated *libelli*.[2]

An early example of an illustrated life of a saint is a manuscript now in the Niedersächische Bibliothek at Hanover, no. 189, which was made at Fulda late in the tenth century.[3] This manuscript is divided into two parts, the first containing the life of St. Kilian of Würzburg, the second the life of St. Margaret of Antioch. St. Kilian's life has eleven pictures and St. Margaret has ten. Compared with the enormously long series of pictures which are found in the manuscripts of a later date the series for both saints is not very long, but they do provide a set and they are connected with the full text of the life of the saint. Moreover, the lives of the two saints are followed by prayers which show them to be of the pattern of the *libelli*. In his examination of the manuscript Zimmerman remarks that there are certain late-antique elements in the style of the miniatures for the life of St. Kilian. In a scriptorium such as Fulda this is to be expected, since, it will be recalled, it was a centre of learning during the ninth century. It is probable that a set of pictures of the life of St. Boniface was known at Fulda in the tenth century, since a number of sacramentaries

[1] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 18315; see E. A. Lowe, *C.L.A.*, *v*, Oxford (1950), no. 675.

[2] Leningrad, Cod. Petropolitanus Lat. Oct. 1. 5; see B. Krusch and W. Levison, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum*, v, p. 372, Pl. 1.

[3] See E. Heinrich Zimmermann, 'Die Fuldaer Buchmalerei in Karolingischer und Ottonischer Zeit' in *Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch d. k. k. Zentral Kommission*, Vienna (1910), Bd. iv (1910), pp. 39-41. I owe this reference to the kindness of Dr. Pächt.

ascribed to the Fulda scriptorium contain scenes of St. Boniface preaching and also of his martyrdom. It is, of course, impossible to affirm the date of the archetype of the life of St. Kilian, but it would appear to be probably Carolingian and may well be a Fulda invention.

Of a similar date to the Hanover MS. is a book now in the library of St. Omer, no. 764. This manuscript is a life of St. Wandregisilus or Wandrille which was once in the possession of the abbey of St. Bertin.[1] Before the life of the saint are two leaves which have been inserted and which contain scenes from the life of St. Wandrille. They are from the art-historical point of view of little interest since they are rough outline drawings, provincial in the extreme. They seem, however, to be copied from an earlier archetype which, like the life of St. Kilian at Hanover, may go back to the ninth century or even earlier. There is some slight suggestion that the style might be even earlier for it recalls the style of the Cambrai Apocalypse. The Abbey of St. Bertin would naturally take an interest in St. Wandrille, since he was ordained priest by St. Omer. In connection with the date of the Carolingian archetype it may be suggested that a set of pictures was produced about the time of the translation of the saint in 884 at Fontenelle, while this actual copy may have been made after 944 when there was a second translation. Such a date would be acceptable from the palaeographical point of view, and a translation of relics provide the necessary impetus for the production of a *libellus* with a set of pictures. The last picture before the text does not belong to the life of the saint, but represents the author presenting his life to the saint who blesses him.

The Fulda life of St. Kilian and the St. Bertin life of St. Wandrille show the two ways in which a *libellus* was illustrated. The St. Kilian life has the illustrations associated with the text while the life of St. Wandrille has the scenes collected in a series at the beginning of the work. The latter has also a miniature of the saint enthroned or in glory, which later becomes

[1] St. Omer MS. 764. The drawings are found on fos. 8-9*b*; see Krusch and Levison, *op. cit.*, p. 11 and particularly note 7.

a feature of this kind of manuscript. Something of the same kind is also found in the Hanover life of St. Margaret, though such a miniature is not found in the life of St. Kilian.

During the eleventh century the production of illustrated lives increased, and it is very probable that they can be associated with the reformation and expansion of the Benedictine abbeys during this period. It will be recalled that during the tenth century a number of reforms had been carried out, notably those associated with the names of William de Saint Benigne at Dijon and Gerard de Brogne farther north. The reformation and restoration of a house must have increased the pride in the local patron with the result that fine copies of the lives of the saints must have been produced in many places, even if the accompaniment of a long series of pictures remained comparatively rare. Amongst such manuscripts one may mention the life of St. Winnoc, now preserved at Bourg Saint Winnoc near Dunkirk, where there are fine pictures of the saint, but no general series of pictures illustrating his life. More usually found are very well written books with fine large initials at the beginning of the text. The hand used by the scribes for books of this kind was of the type used for liturgical books and the decorations are on a scale parallel to it. In the splendid late eleventh century life of St. Quentin, still preserved there, the initial page of the opening of the text is of a splendour which should be compared with the Sacramentaries.[1] Similar splendid initials decorate the opening words of a life of St. Amandus from the abbey of St. Amand and now in the public library at Valenciennes, and other examples can certainly be found. From the beginning these books were marked out as holy books which would be more probably in the custody of the sacristan in the treasury than in the general library of the abbey to which they belonged.

To this period belongs the set of pictures of the life of St. Benedict made at Monte Casino and now in the Vatican Library.[2]

[1] For a knowledge of the appearance of this manuscript I am much indebted to the kindness of Dr. Hanns Swarzenski and Dr. Reginald Dodwell. The manuscript belongs to the cathedral authorities of St. Quentin.

[2] Rome, Bibl. Vaticana, MS. lat. 1202; see E. A. Lowe, *Scriptura Beneventana*, ii, Oxford (1929), Pl. lxx, where there is a good bibliography.

The manuscript which contains this series is not, strictly speaking, a *libellus* but rather a lectionary. It was made between 1072 and 1086 for Desiderius, who became abbot of Monte Cassino in 1086, and the script in which it is written is considered to be one of the finest examples of the Beneventan script. The series of miniatures illustrate scenes from the life of St. Benedict and his companion St. Maurus. They are, of course, of great importance since they show what the Monte Cassino series was like and they were doubtless made for a *libellus* of the kind which we have been discussing.

Three very important French manuscripts also belong to the eleventh century. These are the life of St. Quentin, still at St. Quentin ; a life of St. Amandus now at Valenciennes,[1] and seven leaves from a life of St. Albinus or Aubin, of Angers, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.[2] The first two both contain illustrations incorporated into the text whereas the life of St. Albinus seems to have been a manuscript which favoured the alternative arrangement of placing the illustrations before the text. It would appear that this St. Albinus set, of which only a few remain, was very extensive. The life of St. Quentin is a copy of what is known as the Vita Secunda or Vita Authentica, and it contains a series of twenty scenes from the life of the saint, mainly concerned with his torture. Each scene is accompanied by a descriptive verse in hexameters.[3] The miniatures are executed in an extremely interesting style which does not resemble the normal run of eleventh-century French illumination. Like some of the other lives which have already been mentioned, such as the St. Omer life of St. Wandrille or the life of St. Kilian, it appears to be copied from an earlier archetype. This seems to be indicated by the curious stage-like architecture which is found in some of the scenes, with rather thin spindly towers which recall in some cases even pre-Carolingian work. The rather energetic figures combined

[1] Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 502 ; see *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France*, xxv (1894), pp. 403-5.

[2] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouvelles Acquisitions, lat. 1390 ; see Ph. Lauer, *Les Enluminures Romanes des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris (1927), i, pp. 146-8, Pl. lxi, 2.

[3] See *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. xiii, pp. 727, 728.

with this stage-like architecture recall most nearly the remarkable drawings of the Book of the Maccabees, now at Leiden, and made probably at St. Gall in the first half of the tenth century.[1] It is by no means improbable that this set of St. Quentin pictures should go back to the ninth century at least, since St. Quentin was translated in 835 and 890. The former occasion may well have provided the impetus for the production of these series to be combined with what might be regarded as the official life. On the other hand, there are certain features which suggest that there may have been something earlier at the back of these miniatures. In some cases the ground on which the figures stand is represented by a series of billowing undulations each one of which is decorated with a leaf pattern. Rather similar treatment is to be found in a number of German manuscripts of the Ottonian period, but by far the closest parallel is to be found in the ninth century Apocalypse at Cambrai which itself appears to be an accurate copy of a manuscript of the second half of the sixth century.[2] It is possible, therefore, that the St. Quentin miniatures represent a very much earlier series.

By far the longest set of illustrations belongs to the life of St. Amand preserved in the library at Valenciennes. Actually this series is found in three sets of pictures in two manuscripts. The earliest is in Valenciennes, MS. 502, which is a *libellus* with the illustrations incorporated into the text, and the series amounts to thirty-two miniatures. These appear to have been made at the end of the eleventh century and are contemporary with the manuscript.[3] The illustrations are placed in conjunction with the appropriate chapters but are provided with no contemporary titles as in the case of the life of St. Quentin. They are certainly amongst the most interesting and extensive

[1] See Adolf Merton, *Die Buchmalerei in St. Gallen vom neunten bis zum elften Jahrhundert*, Leipzig (1923), Pl. lv-lviii.

[2] Cambrai, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS. 386; see A. Boinet, *La Miniature Carolingienne*, Paris (1913), Pl. cliii *b*.

[3] The manuscript is discussed in B. Krusch and W. Levison, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum*, v, pp. 415-16, where it is cited as Codex Valentianensis no. 607 (Mangeart, no. 461). A number of the illustrations are reproduced in this volume, Pl. 2-18.

examples which have survived. As a set of illustrations they must have exercised considerable influence for they certainly provided the basis for the second great series of the same life, preserved in Valenciennes, MS. 500.[1] These miniatures are rather differently arranged as they are placed two scenes to a page instead of, sometimes, several scenes being placed in one miniature. For instance, the scene in which St. Amand is chased from the church by the guardian and subsequently visited by St. Peter is shown in two scenes, with St. Amand being chased away in the top scene and St. Peter's vision appearing in the lower one. In the earlier series we have St. Amand's expulsion in one page (fo. 9vo) and the appearance of St. Peter to the saint on the next. The second series seems to have been made in the second half of the twelfth century and the third was made at the end of the century. This series is an exact copy of the second series and it is interesting to see the way in which the style has been modified in the course of a not very long period of time. These latest scenes are executed in outline drawings on the recto of the leaf which on its verso contains the miniatures of the second series.

So far we have looked at continental examples, it is now time to turn to England. Let it be said at once there are no surviving illustrated *libelli* earlier than the beginning of the twelfth century. Actually there are three manuscripts in all, two lives of St. Cuthbert, one in University College, Oxford (MS. 165), the other in the British Museum (Add. MS. 39943), and a life of St. Edmund, king and martyr, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (Morgan MS. 736). The University College life of St. Cuthbert is a copy of the life of the saint by Bede which was the most popular text throughout the Middle Ages.[2] It is written in a very fine book-hand which appears to date from the early twelfth century. The decoration consists of a coloured miniature at the beginning and fifty-five drawings decorated in coloured outline in a style which recalls the well-known scientific and computistical

[1] See *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France*, t. xxv, Paris (1894), pp. 400-2.

[2] New Palaeographical Society, Second Series, Pl. 67.

manuscript made at Durham between 1100 and 1135, now Hunter MS. 100 in the Cathedral Library at Durham.[1] They are also interesting examples of the survival after the conquest of a technique perfected in England in the pre-Conquest period. The coloured miniature at the beginning of the manuscript shows a rather different technique and seems to be more influenced by north French miniatures, particularly a life of St. Bertin, made at the abbey of St. Bertin at St. Omer, and now in the public library at St. Omer.[2] Indeed these coloured miniatures at the beginning of this manuscript seem to show the influence of the life of St. Bertin. Unfortunately nothing is known about the origin of the University College manuscript, though it is extremely probable that it was made at Durham. This is perhaps confirmed by the similarities between the drawings in this manuscript and the second copy in the British Museum, which is known to have been at Durham during the Middle Ages.

In the University College manuscript each chapter is preceded by a chapter heading and a drawing which often combines two scenes. The figures play their parts with a very small amount of extraneous scenery. Whether the drawings are copied from an earlier exemplar is not at all easy to determine. Occasionally scenes seem to be cut off in the middle, from which it might be argued that there had been some kind of reduction. It is quite clear that in some cases figures in the miniatures look out of the miniature as if at a portion of the scene which has not been included in the drawing. It appears that a similar reduction took place when the late twelfth century artist made the miniatures which are in the second manuscript, British Museum Add. MS. 39943. This manuscript, which is also a copy of the life of St. Cuthbert by Bede, was certainly in the possession of Durham Cathedral Priory in the late fourteenth century when it is recorded as being lent to Archbishop Scrope.[3]

[1] New Palaeographical Society, Second Series, Pl. 125.

[2] St. Omer, MS. 698. For bibliography see *Catalogue de l'Exposition, l'Art du Moyen Age en Artois*, Musée d'Arras (1951), pp. 47, 48.

[3] For the bibliography of this manuscript see British Museum, *Catalogue of the Additions to the MSS.*, 1916-1920, pp. 262-5.

Whether the late twelfth century artist took the University College manuscript as his exemplar is not clear, but there can be no doubt that he had access to the same series of pictures. His practice was to enlarge the scene to a full-page miniature, at the same time removing a portion of the scene.

The last illustrated *libellus* to be discussed is the life of St. Edmund by Abbo of Fleury, formerly in the Holford Collection and now in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. This manuscript, which was made in the second quarter of the twelfth century, is undoubtedly a Bury manuscript. The text of the life is preceded by a series of thirty-two full-page miniatures which illustrate the Passion of the saint and the first book of the miracles.[1] Stylistically the manuscript is related to a set of drawings which were probably made at Bury rather earlier than the present manuscript.[2] The miniatures are extremely sumptuous and should also be compared with the St. Albans Psalter now at Hildesheim. Unlike the St. Cuthbert MSS., which incorporated the illustrations with the text, the illustrations in the life of St. Edmund are here collected into a series at the beginning of the manuscript. The similarity between the series with scenes from the life of Christ at Pembroke College has already been mentioned.

It is a very curious fact, but it appears most probable that the production of illustrated *libelli* stopped at the end of the twelfth century except in unusual circumstances.[3] From what has already been said it will be quite clear that most of the copies which have been mentioned were produced within the 250 years from about 950 to 1200. A second characteristic about them is that many are connected with the large and important abbeys

[1] See the Pierpont Morgan Library, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts held at the New York Public Library, New York, November, 1933-April, 1934*, no. 30, pp. 17, 18, where a good bibliography will be found.

[2] Pembroke College, Cambridge, MS. 120; see M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS. in the Library of Pembroke College, Cambridge*, Cambridge (1905), pp. 117-25.

[3] A late example seems to be the late fourteenth century 'Life of SS. Aimo and Vermondo' in Cod. 509 in the Biblioteca Trivulziana in the Castello Sforzesco, Milan; see Caterina Santoro, *I Codici miniati del Rinascimento Italiano*, Biblioteca Trivulziana, Milano, Castello Sforzesco, 1952.

in which the particular saints were buried or venerated. It may be interesting to recapitulate the list. St. Margaret and St. Kilian from Fulda, St. Wandrille from St. Omer, St. Quentin from St. Quentin, St. Amandus from St. Amand, St. Aubin from Angers, St. Benedict from Monte Casino, St. Ludgerus from Werden,[1] St. Radegund from her abbey of Sainte Croix at Poitiers,[2] St. Cuthbert from Durham, St. Edmund from Bury, and St. Maur from St. Maur les Fossés in Paris.[3] It seems that they are manifestations of the pride and grandeur of the monastic houses between the beginning of the Cluniac reforms and the coming of the friars. They were, it would seem, part and parcel of the equipment of a great abbey which could boast a special cult to a saint. The *libellus* was, it seems, a special kind of book which was not under the jurisdiction of the librarian but of the sacristan, and all these manuscripts which have been discussed smack of the Treasury rather than the Library. They were part of the title-deeds as it were of the monastery—perhaps only a little less important than the shrine itself: Relics to be kept with gospel books and chalices.

During the later Middle Ages we do find a number of lives of saints with long series of pictures, but they are no longer illustrated *libelli*. In England one of the first is the series of eighteen scenes from the life of the saint in the Guthlac Roll, now amongst the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum.[4] The roll was made about the year 1200 and undoubtedly for the

[1] Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. Theol. fol. no. 323, twenty-two miniatures, *circ.* 1100; see A. Chroust, *Monumenta Palaeographica, Denkmäler der Schreibkunst des Mittelalters*, Ser. ii, Bd. iii, Lief. xxiii, taf. 5. I owe this reference to the kindness of Dr. Otto Pächt.

[2] Poitiers, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS. 250; see Emile Ginot, 'Le Manuscrit de Sainte Radegonde de Poitiers' in *Bulletin de la Société Française de Reproductions de MSS. à Peintures*, 4e Annèe, Paris (1914-20), No. 1. All the miniatures are reproduced. It should be noticed that the miniatures, which are of the eleventh century, have the appearance of being copied from an earlier manuscript.

[3] Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 2273; see *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques des Départements* (Quarto Series), ii, Paris (1855), pp. 923-6; also L. Morel-Payen, *Les plus beaux Manuscrits et les plus belles Reliures de la Bibliothèque de Troyes*, Troyes (1935), pp. 52-8.

[4] B.M. Harley Roll Y, 6; see Sir George Warner, *The Guthlac Roll*, Roxburghe Club (1928).

great abbey of Croyland, St. Guthlac's own monastery. What the purpose of the roll can have been is not known. It has been thought that these roundels might be designs for windows. At the same time it must not be forgotten that this was the period when the great Mosan goldsmiths such as Nicholas of Verdun and Godefroy de Clare were at work on the great shrines. Such shrines were sometimes decorated with roundels depicting the life of the saint. Another feature which differentiates the series from the illustrated *libelli* is the introduction of scenes from sources other than what might be called the official life. In the present case a *libellus* of St. Guthlac would be almost bound to be the life by Felix and there is at least one scene which is not found in the Felix life.[1] The addition of a roundel showing all the benefactors of Croyland holding their charters is an interesting illustration of the connection between the life of the saint and the temporal possessions of the abbey.[2]

Two important English series of the thirteenth century are found in the verse lives of St. Alban and St. Edward the Confessor by Matthew Paris, now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin,[3] and the University Library at Cambridge.[4] Both these lives are in French verse and the illustrations seem to have been made for them. The illustrations are in tinted outline and are placed at the top of each page. What is significant is that the text is in the vernacular, in this case French, and in verse. The general appearance of the books is quite different. One has only to compare a page of the life of St. Cuthbert from University College, Oxford, with the life of St. Alban. The hand of the life of St. Cuthbert is a good liturgical hand while the hand of the life of St. Alban is quite naturally a vernacular hand in which a number of borrowings from the charter hands is to be seen. What was in the twelfth

[1] i.e. the famous scene of St. Bartholomew presenting the scourge to St. Guthlac; see Warner, *op. cit.*, Pl. viii.

[2] Warner, *op. cit.*, Pl. xviii.

[3] Dublin, Trinity College MS. E. 1. 40; see W. R. L. Lowe, E. F. Jacob and M. R. James, *Illustrations to the Life of St. Alban*, Oxford (1924).

[4] Cambridge, University Library MS. Ee. 3. 59; see M. R. James, *La Estoire de Saint Aedward le Rei*, Roxburghe Club (1920).

century a holy book written as one would write the Gospels, has, in the middle of the thirteenth century, been supplanted by something which is much more related to a romance. This similarity to the romances may also be seen in the life of St. Edward where the text is written in three narrowish columns in a script which, though excellent of its kind, is certainly not a liturgical one. This differentiation between the vernacular verse life of a saint and the illustrated *libellus* is no more clearly seen than in the manuscript of the life of St. Edmund by John Lydgate, now Harley MS. 2278 in the British Museum, which is illustrated with a number of delightful miniatures. These show figures in the costume of the middle of the fifteenth century, though the figures of knights belong to a completely fantastic world of semi-oriental pageant armour such as may be seen on Italian cassone or in illustrations to Livy or other early historians. Once again it will be useful to look at the Pierpont Morgan Life of St. Edmund and compare it with the treatment of the same scene in the life of St. Edmund by Lydgate. The scene is the discovery of the saint's head by a wolf. In the New York MS. this is a very solemn affair, but the same scene in the Lydgate has been changed into a scene of courtly life. The king's head is a beautiful relic instead of a decapitated head, while the surrounding figures would look more suitable in some *chançon de geste*.

An important question remains to be discussed. How far did the illustrated *libellus* influence other works of art, for it is not only books and shrines which contain long series of scenes of this kind. By far the most important monuments are stained glass windows which contain many scenes. Such a series are the St. Thomas windows in Canterbury Cathedral or the great St. William window in York Minster. Curiously enough the St. Cuthbert window in York does not appear to follow the two *libelli*. On the other hand Add. MS. 39943 was, as Mr. Colgrave has shown, the source of the St. Cuthbert's scenes painted late in the fifteenth century on the choir stalls at Carlisle Cathedral.[1] Works of art depicting the lives of

[1] B. Colgrave, 'The St. Cuthbert paintings on the Carlisle Cathedral Stalls' in *The Burlington Magazine*, lxxiii (July, 1938), pp. 17-21.

saints were by no means always based upon a single text. This is demonstrated by what is known of a cloth made for the abbey of Saint-Antoine de Viennois in 1426 with no less than two hundred pictures of the life of St. Anthony abbot. Two picture books were made copying the scenes in this great cloth; one is in the Laurenziana in Florence, the other in the public library at Valetta. Both have been discussed and published by Dr. Rose Graham.[1] The pictures are described as being taken from a certain great cloth which brother John Macellard or Marcellarii compiled and extracted from the legends and life of the saint. Dr. Rose Graham has shown that the sources of the pictures were by no means confined to the 'official' life by St. Athanasius and the Vitae Patrum. It is, therefore, most dangerous to assume that the illustrated *libellus* is always the source of a series. New compilations must have been made and each series should be carefully tested. There are tapestries, too, which should be examined, such as the great set of the lives of SS. Eleutherius and Piatus, woven at Arras in 1402 for the Cathedral of Tournai. In this series we again see the life of the saint accompanied by a *titulus*, though this time it is in *French*.

Thus we see that throughout the Middle Ages these pictures of the Christian heroes were being produced to hang in their churches. Side by side were the illustrated *libelli* with their sets of pictures, but they are parallel movements and do not necessarily depend on each other. Indeed it would appear that the illustrated *libellus* is a later appearance. Moreover, it is significant that the latter belong to a period when the monastic scriptorium was at its height and monastic prosperity at its greatest. When the production of highly illuminated books became the business of the lay scribe and the lay artist, the production of such volumes was only too likely to decline;[2]

[1] Rose Graham, *A Picture Book of the Life of Saint Anthony the Abbot*, Roxburghe Club (1937).

[2] The famous manuscript of the Vie de Saint Denis, Paris Bibliothèque Nationale MS. fr. 2090-2092, presented to Philippe le Long in 1317, is really a compromise. It was originally written for Philippe le Bel and the text was in Latin, but before it was completed a French translation was interpolated. Another earlier manuscript, Paris, Nouvelles Acquisitions fr. 1098, *circ.* 1250,

A more important factor was the removal of artistic patronage away from the monastery to the court and to the great secular ecclesiastics, and to the rich merchant. The illustrated *libellus* was a mirror for monks, part of the relics of the monastery. When in the thirteenth century organized religion veered away from the old-fashioned monasticism of the great abbey, the illustrated *libellus* seems to have lost something of its *raison d'être* and the evidence implies that it gradually disappeared or at any rate took on quite a different form.

reproduced by the Bibliothèque Nationale, is a French life only. The illustrations in this manuscript may, however, derive from an illustrated libellus.

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